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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

January 1955

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ROCKFORD COLLEGE is again offering to an entering freshman a departmental scholarship in Latin of \$1000 (\$500 for each of two years). Students who have had two or more years of Latin in high school are eligible to apply; candidates will write an examination testing particularly the ability to read Latin. The examination is given at the candidate's school. High school records and recommendations, an aptitude test score, and

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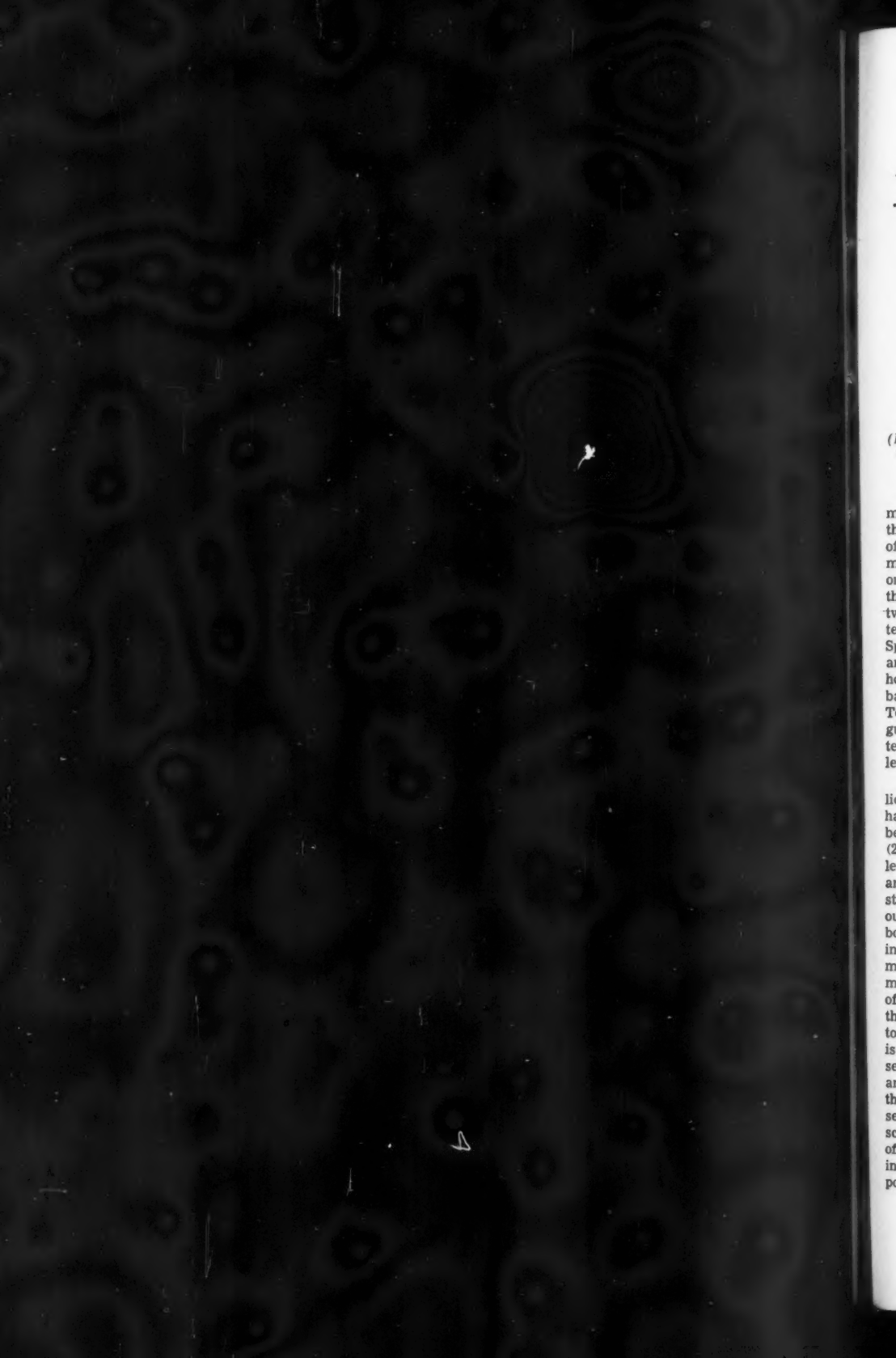
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THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Grace L. Beede

Latin & Modern Languages Hand in Hand

(From a paper read at Minneapolis, Oct. 22, '54, before a Classical-ML joint session of the state teachers' association.)

LET ME START by saying that I was a modern language major and a Latin minor, that there have been periods in a long life of teaching when I have taught only the modern language, others when it has been only Latin and finally others when I carried the two concurrently. Then for the past twelve years I have been watching the teaching of French and German, Latin and Spanish in all of our language classrooms and I know now that that is the way to learn how to teach. I only wish that I might go back to it and show what I have learned. To my mind Latin and the modern languages are the stock in trade of all language teachers and it is an advantage not only to learn both but also to teach them both.

The three things which I do sincerely believe are these: (1) that *every* child should have an experience with another language beginning just as early in life as possible, (2) that that experience should include at least a bowing acquaintance with both Latin and a modern language, and (3) that every student desirous and capable of doing serious work in foreign languages should study both Latin and a modern language together in the secondary school. I realize the immediate reactions in protest to these statements: (1) that not all children are capable of learning a foreign language (Of course they are not.), (2) that Latin is structurally too difficult for little children (Of course it is.) and (3) that there is not time in the secondary school curriculum for both Latin and a modern language (I'm convinced that there is.). The character of the objectives set for each level of work in the elementary school and the administrative organization of the secondary school will be the determining factors as to whether these three proposals are possible or not.

You have heard of the extent and success of the modern language program in the elementary school. At a meeting at MLA headquarters in New York three weeks ago an associate editor of one of the language periodicals quoted administrators as considering this program a flash in the pan that will soon die out. To this William Parker replied that no one need think so, that this fall's statistics will show 300 communities in the U.S.A. teaching FLs in the elementary schools, and I know from my own personal mail that the number is growing steadily. One of the significant aspects of the January conference in Washington in 1953 was the presence of administrators and other non-language persons who had come at their own expense to seek help in starting this teaching in a way that should have promise of stability and permanence. Numbers of my letters come from administrators and officers of PTA's. I am especially encouraged by the fact that the number wishing to introduce German is increasing and some few are interested in Latin.

Why do I believe that every child should have a FL experience? It has been demonstrated that little children can learn something of a foreign language regardless of their IQ and that they enjoy doing so when the language is presented through a play approach, with activities, songs and games, and when it is so related to their personal and school interests that it becomes not an "extra" but an integral part of the whole school process. I would like to tell you of an experience with French on the part of an atypical group in one of our junior high

Correction of dittography, Goldsberry bibliography (Nov. TSB, p. 52): First item, read "D. C. HEATH & Co., Chicago, 1943."

schools. In Washington "atypical" is the term which identifies the child who is barely educable, whose span of attention is practically nil and who has neither interest in nor capacity for intellectual effort. Specially trained teachers handle such children throughout the day, giving them whatever training is possible to enable them to hold low-type jobs and to become up-right members of the community. The principal of the school in question decided that he wanted even his atypicals to have a taste of French. Because of their pride in having the same privilege of exploring a semester of language as the other eighth graders, they were interested and attentive for the whole period, a practically unheard-of achievement for atypicals. Such children find *thinking* difficult, but they *can* imitate and memorize. This group had a good pronunciation as they answered routine questions about health, names, ages, dates, time, weather, etc., and did simple work with numbers. In a ten-minute period devoted to background work, the teacher's questions brought out the fact that this language is spoken in France. The query: "What is France?" brought the answer: "It's the capital of Paris," but immediately five hands went up to turn it around. One volunteered that Paris is on the Seine and another pointed on the map to Paris and the Seine. Who will say that this is wasted time? Won't these mentally underprivileged children have a greater prospect of adjusting to life today than without the "French" (in quotes)? One need not labor the point for the able child who can go as far as time and opportunity permit.

As I have said many times, increased enrollments in foreign languages and the maintenance of advanced classes can come only if we start with the broadest possible base as early as possible in the elementary school and let the natural process of elimination operate over the years there to bring to the secondary school a selected body of students interested in, capable of and eager for, real language study. With their aural and oral equipment gained in the elementary school to build on, the academic study of language will enable these children to develop into the linguists so sorely needed today. The ideal situation would include the modern language which can be spoken plus a Latin background of materials specifically designed to open the eyes of children to the Latin that functions in all their daily learning and living. I know of a teacher in Illinois who has made Latin so fascinating through little dialogues that

children come to her on Saturday mornings for the fun of learning Latin.

Finally, it is my philosophy that every child entering the junior high school, able to understand and speak a language within the limits of his grade experience, should continue its study through grade twelve or as far as his individual capacity or interest permits. Since true language competence comes only from a long, slow build-up of skills, the more gradual the process, the greater the number of students who will be able to acquire the skills. But not only would I have students continue the language started in the grades; I would have each one who really wants to study languages add Latin and carry the two languages side by side for as long a time as possible. For some, Latin will serve as the hand-maid of the modern languages; for others it will become their major field of interest.

Professor Briggs once said that the reason for the survival of Latin is that it is generally well taught and sometimes magnificently. One hears constantly of the decline of Latin; yet in schools where only one language is taught it is usually Latin and in some places enrollments in Latin exceed those in the other languages combined. The reason is not far to seek. It is easier and far less expensive to train the good Latin teacher than the one who is to teach a modern language. And yet the shortage of Latin teachers today is one of the main factors in the decline of Latin. Teachers of Latin can be drawn only from schools with large enrollments in Latin. Large enrollments are found only where communities are convinced of the value of Latin, and we may well ask, "How shall they know except they be told?" And they must be told, not by those with a vested interest in Latin, but by the types of lay persons who now proclaim the values of the modern languages. The second factor, therefore, in the decline of Latin is the inadequate public relations from which it suffers.

At the present moment the modern languages are enjoying better public relations because of the pronouncements of highly placed laymen as to the manifest public need for them, because of the success of the elementary school program, and because of the brilliant functioning of the Modern Language Study being conducted under a Rockefeller grant. In the preface to his "Work Paper on the National Interest in Foreign Language," prepared at the direction of the State Department for the National Commission for UNESCO, William Parker says: "The writer of this Work

Paper was trained in both Latin and Greek, once wrote a book about an English poet's debt to Greek tragedy, and earnestly believes that the neglect of classical studies by American education has been a major mistake." Yet under the terms of the grant the *MLA Study* must be limited to the modern languages.

In spite of such excellent pamphlets as the two on "Why Study Latin in High School?" and the new "What About Latin?", it is far too commonly believed that Latin is "dead", that it contributes nothing practical for every-day living and that time is more profitably spent on a modern language, if indeed one studies language at all. This impression is likely to continue unless Latin teachers — and notably those in the higher institutions — do something very definite about it themselves, and unless modern language teachers realize what the demise of Latin in the secondary schools would mean to them, and unless they join hands actively with classical teachers to convince administrators of the need for both types of language at the same time.

I am entirely serious in proposing that Latin be required of high school students of a modern language and in saying that it is possible to do so. Three distinct types of elementary programs are recognizable in the country at large. It is probable however that continued experimentation and increased budgetary provision will cause these eventually to become merged. As soon as continuity can be assured in the elementary schools secondary schools will be faced with an immediate problem of revamping present language courses to meet the needs of these selected groups coming up from the grades already able to understand and speak a modern language to a considerable degree. What better time than the present for constructive over-all planning?

In the United States we seem tied to the tradition that every subject must be studied in a class that meets every day. Sometimes a language is studied five days a week for two years then dropped for two years and "continued" on reaching college; and people wonder why the result is not recognizable as real language competence. Our European brethren are wiser. They begin early and a language is continued throughout all the subsequent years in school, thus taking away the opportunity for the curve of forgetting to operate. It is conceivable that a student who has had one language as part of his over-all grade experience since the kindergarten or first grade might become

bored with five hours a week of the same language for six more years. The European system is possible because a subject is scheduled for a diminishing number of hours as the child advances in his study.

Instead of the keen competition for electives engendered by our present system, a schedule of staggered hours would remove the element of competition and enable the student to take two related subjects best suited to his individual needs and to take them simultaneously, with a differing number of periods for each. Specifically, in the field of foreign languages the study of a modern language by any one really seeking competence must be buttressed with a knowledge of Latin just as much as the serious student of science must have a secure knowledge of mathematics. Though I personally had only six years of Latin and one of Greek, I am so truly grateful for their gifts to me that I grieve at the thought of a modern society which would willingly discard a subject which contributes so richly to the "good life" and so practically to the efficient linguist. It need not be discarded if place can be made for two to be studied side by side by all serious students of language.

The curse of the foreign language situation in general lies (1) in the internecine strife that is the natural outgrowth of the cut-throat competition for electives, and (2) in the false community ideas, not only with respect to Latin, but also as to the difficulty and futility of studying any foreign language. I have said that the Latin teachers, and especially those in the higher institutions, must do something about this themselves and that modern language teachers need to regard Latin as an ally instead of a competitor and to work together with the teachers of Latin to get administrators to schedule programs that will bring the needed cooperation into being.

For the past two years I have been in correspondence with the officers of the national and regional professional language associations in an effort to arouse interest in the creation of a Department of Foreign Languages within the framework of the National Education Association. It seems to me deplorable that *language*, both English and foreign, is the only subject matter area not represented by a department in the *NEA*. And yet the *NEA* is the largest and most powerful educational organization in this country. It is the one association to which administrators and counselors belong and to which they listen with respect, and it is powerful enough to influence legislation

at both local and federal levels. It seems to me particularly unfortunate that we have in this country over 70 professional groups but no single one which, as Theodore Andersson of Yale says of the proposed *NEA* department, "would provide the only permanent, full-time staff for the promotion of FL teaching in the United States. Can there be any doubt (he says further) that it needs and deserves to be promoted?"

At first many correspondents in the modern language associations expressed sympathetic interest and brought the proposal before their organizations supported by their own recommendations for consideration and action. Officially the classical associations have opposed it. The only hope would appear to be in the state organizations such as this one, which realize the importance of lending every support to the schools and which are not bound by vested interests.

No matter how wide their membership, our professional associations are governed and their publications produced in the main by the professors. This is entirely natural since the professors are far more free both as to extra-curricular responsibilities and in their use of time than are the school-teachers. Experience on the executive committee of both a classical and a modern language association has convinced me that, with some notable exceptions, there is little understanding of the problems and the needs of teachers on the part of professors, and that the "ivory tower" is far from being a thing of the past. For many teachers, both high school and college, the professional organization provides a vehicle for the publication of papers, a forum for the dissemination of ideas, and even sometimes a marketplace where one bargains for professional advancement. Such uses of the organization are desirable and legitimate; but from the point of view of sorely needed good public relations none of them fills the bill. For this we need a single organization whose chief function shall be getting to the general public reliable information of every sort about FL, providing a common center where the results of research may be easily available to all, and giving support in the establishment of adequate language programs in all parts of the country. Unless it is made possible for the public school to continue to send on to the colleges and universities students well grounded in preparatory work, we face the dilemma of having higher education limited to the economically privileged trained in the private schools or of the professors having to do the work that should be done by those at lower levels. It

is my personal feeling that the cooperation of language teachers at every level could be centered in a department of the *NEA* which could speak with a unified voice of authority to the community which is our "boss".

The existing language associations distrust the *NEA* because of some of its past "sins" and are loath to undertake anything which means additional expense. They argue that teachers will not pay dues to them and to the *NEA*; hence they will be put out of existence. This need not be so at all. Again, they say it will destroy their magazines. Conceivably an increased professionalism on the part of high school teachers might well produce a greater demand for what these periodicals have to offer. Finally, the classical organizations are convinced that an affiliation with modern language groups will result in the dominance of the latter and the further decline of the classics. It is a sad circle of fear and distrust. It seems to me that we "cut off our noses to spite our faces" when we fail to enlist the services which the educationists are in a position to render as our allies.

It is my conviction that the cause of all language is one, whether it be classical or modern, English or foreign, oriental or occidental. We cannot hope to establish desirable programs of lasting strength until we cease to pull in opposite directions and until all of us are ready to admit our interdependence and to pull together with a will toward a common goal. The constant struggle to maintain the kind of program that we deem desirable in a large city system strengthens my convictions as to what is needed to make that possible. I believe that there is much support for the movement at the "grass roots". It cannot be brought to pass however except through corporate effort. It is evident that that will not be forthcoming from existing language associations. If a strong state organization were willing to take the initiative in enlisting the support of those in the other states, it should not take long to achieve success. The widely publicized document on the subject issued by the *MLA* study a year ago gives the needed data. More can be secured if needed. Our hopes rest in you.

As a closing thought I would like to quote an old Hindu proverb which has become a favorite with me: "Help thy brother's boat across and, lo, thine own hath reached the shore."

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Marius and the Roman Nobility

C. MARIUS is often loosely described as a *popularis* or champion and leader of the people. A careful analysis of the sources reveals, however, that the seven-time consul, like other great figures of the late republic, was not a consistent party politician, but that he changed his political course and his associates on several occasions. It is my purpose in this paper to discuss Marius' relationship with the nobility during the years 99-89 B.C. and to show that Marius was on friendly terms with the majority of the *optimates* in this period.¹

In order to clearly understand the situation, let us briefly review the events of the months immediately preceding the period under consideration. They are as follows.² After having successfully terminated the war against the Cimbri and Teutons in 101 B.C., Marius, on his return to Rome, leagued himself with the two ambitious demagogues L. Appuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glaucia. In spite of bitter opposition from the nobility, the associates managed to secure control of the government for 100 B.C.: Marius won his sixth consulship, Saturninus ob-

tained the tribunate for the second time, Glaucia became praetor. During the course of the year Saturninus and Glaucia proved so revolutionary in their legislation and reckless in their methods that they lost many of their former supporters. Marius, realizing that his associates were doomed, separated himself from them gradually in order not to be involved in their ruin and entered into an alliance with the nobles, who were planning to crush the two demagogues and were eager to bring the powerful consul to their side. When the time came for the elections for 99 B.C., Saturninus stood again for the tribunate, and Glaucia became a candidate for the consulship. Since Glaucia's election seemed improbable, a gang of ruffians was sent to murder his competitor. The senate thereupon declared a state of martial law and called upon Marius to restore order in his capacity as consul. Saturninus, Glaucia and their followers occupied the Capitol, where they were besieged by Marius and forced to surrender. They were later massacred by a band of extremists.

With the fall of Saturninus and Glaucia the *optimates* regained control of the Roman government; they retained it for eleven years, that is until 88 B.C. We are told by Plutarch (*Mar.* 30.4-31.2; 32.1-2) that during this period of senatorial supremacy Marius' career suffered an eclipse; that the nobles,

CAMWS will convene at the Congress Hotel, 520 S. Michigan Blvd., Chicago, Easter week-end (April 7-9). GRUNDY STEINER (220 Centennial Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston) is Local Chairman.

despising Marius because of his political instability after having used him to suppress the demagogues, broke the alliance which they had contracted with him for this end and treated him at best with indifference. This testimony of Plutarch, however, must be rejected; it is contradicted by other more reliable evidence which reveals that the good relationship between Marius and the nobility, initiated in the crisis of 100 B.C., continued after the fall of the demagogues and until 88 B.C.

Let us first consider the years 99 to 92 B.C., a period during which no political or military events of any real importance occurred and no great personalities emerged. In 99 B.C. the senate abrogated the Appuleian legislation of the preceding year as that of a public enemy of Rome. Thus were repealed the two measures which Saturninus had enacted to reward Marius' veterans of the Cimbric war—one providing for the distribution of land in Gaul, the other authorizing the foundation of colonies in Sicily, Achaea and Macedonia—and which had not yet been put into effect.³ Since we have specific evidence that Marius settled a colony of veterans in Corsica,⁴ we must infer that the senate, after repealing Saturninus' legislation, sponsored out of deference to Marius the founding of Mariana, as this Corsican colony was named.

In 98 or 97 B.C. Marius was elected to the augurate.⁵ The great priestly offices—the pontificate and the augurate—were among the highest distinctions of the Roman state and were regularly bestowed upon the leading men of the senatorial order.⁶ In this period the candidates for the priesthoods were nominated by the members of the priestly colleges and elected by the people.⁷ Marius' appointment to the augurate indicates therefore that he was at the time on friendly terms with some of the most distinguished men of the nobility and held by them in high esteem.

C. Julius Caesar, Marius' brother-in-law and partisan,⁸ held the praetorship

in an unknown year of the nineties and governed Asia as proconsul the following year.⁹ Certainly he would not have obtained these offices if the nobility had not been favorably disposed toward Marius.

It is my belief that Marius was a good friend of the foremost man of the nobility, the *princeps senatus* M. Aemilius Scaurus,¹⁰ during the years following 100 B.C., probably until the latter's death which occurred in 90 or 89 B.C. Scaurus, though previously a bitter enemy of Marius,¹¹ had negotiated and brought about the alliance of the nobles with the consul in late 100 B.C.¹² The evidence for the ensuing friendship between Scaurus and Marius is a passage of Pliny, which says that Scaurus, the son of our man, was very rich because he had inherited great wealth from his stepfather Sulla, from his mother Metella, *proscriptionum sectrix*, and from his father Scaurus, *Mariani sodalicii rapinarum provincialium sinus* (NH 36.116). I believe that this designation of Scaurus shows that Scaurus and Marius were at some time partners in a business undertaking through which they extorted large sums of money from the provincials. From what we know of the activities and connections of the two men such a partnership is conceivable only during the years 130-120 B.C., 113-110 B.C., and, most probably, 99-89 B.C.¹³ This last period, I believe, is also indicated by the following consideration. Scaurus acquired great wealth at different periods of his life and by different means, which were often far from honorable.¹⁴ Since Pliny, when speaking of the wealth which the *princeps senatus* left to his son, mentions specifically only the riches he acquired by means of the *Marianum sodalicium*, it is presumable that these riches were not gained as far back as, say, 113-110 B.C., but rather in the last part of Scaurus' life.

L. Cornelius Sulla, a scion of a patrician house, had served under Marius with great distinction in Numidia and in Gaul,¹⁵ and the two men had been

good friends. However, in 103 B.C., in the midst of the Cimbric war, the nobility attempted to deprive Marius of his popularity with the people and to put an end to his continuous reelections to the consulship by claiming that Sulla, and not Marius, was the real victor of the Jugurthine war. As a result of this slanderous propaganda Marius' affection for Sulla was turned into bitter hatred,¹⁶ and Sulla passed under the orders of the other commander-in-chief, Q. Lutatius Catulus. The Cimbric war was concluded in 101 B.C. Sulla did not attempt to reap the reward for his military achievements by canvassing for a public office until 95 B.C.; he then ran for the praetorship for the following year, but was defeated.¹⁷ He presented himself again as a candidate for this magistracy in 94 B.C. and obtained it this time, but only by means of bribery.¹⁸ It is my opinion that Sulla failed to advance in his career for so many years and then achieved his aim only by irregular means because Marius, hostile to him, was able to induce the oligarchy which controlled the elections in this period not to further his rival.¹⁹

L. Licinius Crassus, the leading orator of the day and an optimatus who had held the consulship and the censorship,²⁰ gave one of his two daughters in marriage to Marius' son between 95 and 91 B.C.²¹ Crassus had been fiercely opposed to Marius earlier, and was still his bitter enemy at the time of the Cimbric war;²² this marriage appears therefore at first surprising. It can be easily explained, however, if we place it in the later part of 92 or at the beginning of 91 B.C.²³ and consider the political situation which existed in Rome at that time.²⁴ In 92 B.C., M. Livius Drusus, a member of a prominent senatorial house, decided to stand for the tribunate for the following year in order to deal with two pressing problems of the day, the constitution of the extortion courts and the relationship of the Italian allies with Rome. He had worked out his program with the assistance of M. Aemilius Scaurus and L.

Licinius Crassus,²⁵ who also helped him to win the election. After having entered office, Drusus first undertook to secure the favor of the voting populace by a number of charitable schemes. Then he came forward with his judiciary program. He proposed to give the senators a share in the composition of the extortion courts, which were entirely made up of knights at this time, and also to make the jurors liable to prosecution for accepting bribes. However, to conciliate the knights and lessen their opposition to these measures, he also proposed that three hundred of their leading men should be admitted to the senate. In the light of these happenings the marriage of Licinia with the younger Marius becomes easily comprehensible. L. Licinius Crassus, Drusus' friend and advisor, evidently offered Marius this alliance with his own family, one of the most distinguished among the nobility, in the hope of winning Marius' support for Drusus' program. As we have seen, Drusus was anxious to appease the knights; and the aid of Marius, who was immensely popular with this class from which he had sprung, would have been of great value to the reformer.

Despite his efforts, Drusus did not succeed in appeasing the knights, who were greatly incensed at the prospect of losing their monopoly of jury service. Moreover, the tribune also displeased a number of senators, who were not satisfied with a mere share in the composition of the juries and resented the inclusion of the equestrians in the senate. Nevertheless, Drusus secured the passage of his measures because he had previously won the good will of the masses. The number of Drusus' opponents increased still more later in the year when it became known that he intended to extend Roman citizenship to all the allies. Even before he could propose a bill to this effect the senate declared his whole legislation invalid. Shortly afterwards the reformer himself was assassinated.

Although Crassus had tried to win

Marius' support for Drusus' program, it seems that he was disappointed in his hopes. We have no evidence for Marius' relationship with the tribune, but the fact that the old general was entrusted with a command against the allies at the outbreak of the Social war in 90 B.C. shows that he had not been a partisan of Drusus. Because of the complete silence of the sources with regard to Marius' position in the political conflict of 91 B.C., it would be presumptuous to offer a definite opinion, but this very silence indicates perhaps that Marius maintained neutrality since he had friends among both the supporters and the opponents of the tribune.

The chief event of the years 90 and 89 B.C. was the Social war. Marius was appointed to a command at the outset,²⁶ but resigned it at the end of 90 B.C. because of ill health²⁷ and withdrew to private life. His relationship with the nobility appears to have remained unchanged until 88 B.C., the year of C. Sulpicius Rufus' fateful tribunate.

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NOTES

¹ Since 1934 some scholars have stated their belief that the nobility was on friendly terms with Marius during the years 99-89 B.C., but they have not specifically studied the question. Cf. A. Passerini, "Caio Mario come uomo politico," *Athenaeum* 12 (1934) 350 ff.; R. Andreotti, *Caio Mario* (Gubbio, 1940) 112; A. Passerini, *Caio Mario* (Rome, 1941) 87 ff.; W. Schur, "Das Zeitalter des Marius und Sulla," *Klio*, Beih. 46 (1942) 101 f.

² For details and references see the works cited in note 1 and the general histories of Rome.

³ Cic. *De Leg.* 2.14; *Balb.* 48. E. Gabba in "Ricerche su alcuni punti di storia mariana," *Athenaeum* 29 (1951) 12 ff., shows that the senate repealed the Appuleian legislation of 100 B.C. but not that of 103 B.C.

⁴ *Sen. Cons. Helv.* 7.9; *Plin. NH* 3.80; *Solin.* 3.3; cf. *Mela* 2.122; *Ptol. Geogr.* 3.2.5. I agree with E. Gabba, *op. cit.* (above, note 3), that the settlements of Marian veterans in Africa, of which we have epigraphic evidence, must be related to Saturninus' agrarian law of 103 B.C., and that Eporedia in Cisalpine Gaul was not a Marian colony. However, I believe that Gabba is unjustified in placing the foundation of Mariana in Corsica in the period 87-81 B.C. (after Marius' death).

⁵ Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1.5.3.

⁶ Cf. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer* (sec. ed.) 480.

⁷ *Ibid.* 488.

⁸ On Caesar, the father of the future dictator,

see F. Münzer, *RE* s.v. "Julius" no. 130. Caesar had settled Marian veterans of the Jugurthine war as colonists on the island of Cercina off the African coast in 103-102 B.C. Cf. T. Frank, "The New Elogium of Julius Caesar's Father," *AJP* 58 (1937) 90 ff., rectified by E. Gabba, *op. cit.* (above, note 3) 18, note 2.

⁹ *Plin. NH* 7.181; *CIL* 12.1, p. 199, no. 20; *Inscr. v. Priene* no. 111, lines 14 and 21, and no. 117, line 49; *Inscr. de Delos* 4, nos. 1701, 1712, 1847. See also T. R. S. Broughton, "The Elogia of Julius Caesar's Father," *AJA* 52 (1948) 323 ff., and E. Gabba, *op. cit.* (above, note 3) 18, note 2.

¹⁰ For Scaurus see G. Bloch, "M. Aemilius Scaurus," *Biblioth. Fac. Lett. Univ. Paris* 25 (1909) 1 ff.

¹¹ *Cic. Prov. Cons.* 19.

¹² *Auct. Vir. Ill.* 72.9.

¹³ A. Passerini, "Caio Mario come uomo politico," *Athenaeum* 12 (1934) 280, also believes that Scaurus and Marius were partners in a business undertaking, but he places this partnership in the year 100 B.C., before Scaurus brought about the alliance of the nobles with Marius. However, since we know from Cicero (*Prov. Cons.* 19) that Scaurus was a bitter enemy of Marius at the time of the Cimbric war, we can assume that the *principes senatus* remained hostile to Marius when the latter allied himself with Saturninus and Glauca in 101 B.C., and until he separated himself gradually from the demagogues in the later part of 100 B.C.

¹⁴ Cf. Bloch, *op. cit.* (above, note 10). Scaurus was accused of extortion and bribery at various times.

¹⁵ Cf. F. Fröhlich, *RE* s.v. "Cornelius" no. 392.

¹⁶ *Plut. Praec. Ger. Reip.* 12; *Sulla* 4.2. In these passages Plutarch merely states that in 103 B.C. Marius became suddenly angered by Sulla's growth in power. However, in *Mar.* 10.5-11.1 and *Sulla* 3.3 Plutarch says that after the termination of the Jugurthine war in 105 B.C., some nobles began to assert publicly that Sulla, not Marius, was the real victor in order that the people might cease admiring Marius, but that when news of the Cimbric peril arrived in Rome they quickly changed front. It is certain that the nobles resorted to the use of this calumny again when they opposed Marius' election to the consulship for 102 B.C. (*Plut. Mar.* 14.7-8) and that this was the reason for Marius' sudden anger against Sulla.

¹⁷ *Plut. Sulla* 5.1-2; *Val. Max.* 7.5.5.

¹⁸ *Plut. Sulla* 5.2.

¹⁹ Fröhlich, *op. cit.* (above, note 15) 1527, maintains that Sulla failed to advance in power until 95 B.C. because he had not distinguished himself in the Cimbric war. But E. Sadée, "Sulla im Kimbrenkrieg," *RhM* 88 (1939) 43 ff., shows that Sulla won notable successes in this war.

²⁰ For Crassus see F. Münzer, *RE* s.v. "Licinius" no. 55.

²¹ *Cic. Balb.* 49; *De Orat.* 1.66; 3.8; *Att.* 12.49.1; 14.8.1. The sources do not give the date of the marriage, but we know that it cannot have taken place before Marius reached the age of fourteen, that is before 95 B.C. From *Cic. Balb.* 49 and *De Orat.* 1.66 we gather that it occurred before Crassus' death, that is before September, 91 B.C.

²² *Cic. Prov. Cons.* 19.

²³ This date is also indicated by the consideration that Roman males, though they could marry when they reached the age of fourteen, generally waited until somewhat later.

²⁴ For Drusus and his tribunate see, especially, H. Last, *Cambridge Ancient History* 9.177 ff., and F. Münzer, *RE* s.v. "Livius" no. 18.

²⁵ *Cic. Domo* 50. For Crassus' later support of Drusus' program see also *Cic. De Orat.* 3.2-6; *Val. Max.* 6.2.2; *Quint. Inst.* 8.189.

²⁶ *App. B. C.* 1.40.

²⁷ *Plut. Mar.* 33.3; *Sulla* 7.1.

The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite

THE *Hymn to Aphrodite*, Homeric Hymn V, in our opinion has been dated remarkably far from what seems to be the correct date, the fourth century B.C. or later. The evidence for this decision is largely aesthetic, though corroboration is also forthcoming from the manuscript tradition, from the vocabulary, and from certain historical ideas mentioned in it. Dating on aesthetic grounds in the realm of literature is something which has not been dealt with extensively. Perhaps one of the main reasons for this is the common belief that such considerations must necessarily be too subjective. Certainly any evaluation must be ultimately based on certain personal values, but our procedure is not based on subjective evaluations. We only attempt to examine specific techniques in the use of form, and these can be examined as carefully and objectively as metrics. Form is man-made, and thus like all man-made things, each form must evolve, the one from the other, and a history of this evolution can be drawn. Major writers will surge ahead and their forms will be considerably advanced over the work of contemporary but more conservative writers; some forms will be evolved and die out, while other writers will deliberately attempt to archaize and go back to pick up long-dead forms. But to avoid subjects simply because they are complicated would be to abandon classical studies altogether. The complications in the evolution of other poetic techniques are paralleled by those in the evolution of meter, and yet the latter has certainly been explored at great length. The purpose of this paper, then, is twofold: to date the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, and by doing so to show how aesthetic considerations can be used for purposes of dating. We shall try to show how other facts tend further to prove our date, and how this late date for the hymn ties up a number of loose ends that have been bothering editors

for years, while it contradicts none of the evidence based on other considerations.

II

H. N. PORTER has made a brilliant and sensitive examination of the techniques employed by the author of this hymn,¹ and we shall rely heavily on his discoveries, attempting to show, as he has not done, that these techniques are typical of the Alexandrian period. Lines 56-63 offer a lucid example:

τὸν δὲ δῖα ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη
 ἦράσατο, ἐκπάγχλος δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἥμερος ἔλειν.
 ἔς Κύπρον δ' ἔλαοῦσα θυώδεα νηὶν ἔδυνεν,
 ἔς Πάφον· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ τέμνοντο βωμὸς τε θυώδης·
 ἔνθ' ἢ γ' εἰσελθοῦσα θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινός.
 ἔνθα δὲ μιν Χάριτες λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἑλαίῳ
 ἄμβρόσιω, αἶα θεοὺς ἐπηγγέθεν αἰὲν ἔόντας,
 ἄμβροσίῳ ἑδανῶ, τό βῆ αἱ τεθυμμένον ἦεν.

These lines are borrowed from Homer but with alteration. Lines 58-59 come from the *Odyssey* 8. 362-3 with additions and changes. The Homeric lines read:

ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἔκανε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη,
 ἔς Πάφον· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ τέμνοντο βωμὸς τε θυώδης.

The other lines are borrowed directly, line 60 from the *Iliad* 14. 169, lines 61-62 from the *Odyssey* 8. 364-5 and 63 from the *Iliad* 14. 172. Such combining of non-formulaic lines and line-groups from various parts of Homer and their integration to form one unified passage occurs nowhere else in the Homeric hymns.² This might be an eclecticism that would bespeak an eclectic age, or it might simply be a coincidence; for we have no evidence that this collection, non-formulaic as it may appear, is any different basically from the customary borrowing from Homer, or from a font in common with Homer.

More significant than the fact that this passage is from Homer, are the changes that the poet has made. *Kupron* is moved to the beginning of the line and prefixed with *es* so as to be in the same position as the phrase *es Paphon* in the following line. *Hikane* is changed to *elthousa* which, as Porter states, "recalls the *idousa* of line 56 and prefigures the *eiselthousa* of line 60 . . . *thueeis* has become *thuodes*³ so that it will repeat the *thuodea* of line 58. . . . The poet has made additions and alterations. The effect of these changes is to give the passage in the hymn to Aphrodite six consecutive lines which, in pairs, begin with substantially the same word, and the every-other-line assonance *idousa-elthousa-eiselthousa* . . ." ⁴ There is a further point which Porter does not mention explicitly, and that is that aside from the perfectly ordered repetition of words occurring in pairs at the beginning of the line, and the *-ousa* series all occurring in the identical metrical position, there is another type of poetic device in these lines, that is of a pattern of variation within the repetitive pattern. *Thoudes* occurs in different parts of the line, the *-ousa* series occurs in three slightly different words, two of which are followed by the *thu-*, the *entha* repetition is anticipated by an *entha* in the middle of the preceding line, but this *entha* is followed by a *de* as the first one of the couplet is not. All this produces a magnificent counterpoint of order and disorder in the repetition, so that while these six lines appear carefully constructed and deliberate, there is a second force in operation which prevents them from appearing overly-contrived and sing-song.

This sort of poetry could not occur until poets were writing for a reading public. These delicate interworkings simply cannot come through in oral poetry, but instead make it laborious and tiresome. This careful order is unnatural to poetry which was chanted or sung; it must be seen to be appreciated. What we have here is an example of

Homer re-composed with all the additional techniques only possible in written poetry, for such intricate workings are doubtful in an early period. Repetition in Homer does not consist of individual words and sounds; the phrases, lines and line-groups which are repeated do not occur in immediate proximity to one another creating a careful and intrinsic pattern.⁵

Repetition in Hesiod is somewhat closer but still well adapted to oral poetry. For example in *Works and Days*, lines 1-8:

Μοῦσαι Πιερὴνθεν ἀοιδῆσιν κλείουσαι
δεῦτε, Δί' ἐνέπετε, σφέτερον πατέρ' ὕμνειν οὔσαι
ὅν τε διὰ βροτῶν ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε,
ῥήτοί τ' ἀρρητοί τε Διὸς μέγαλοιο ἔκητι.
ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεία δ' ἀρίστηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄσθηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεία δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγνήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὅς ὑπέρτατα δώματα νάει.

In lines 3-5 we have *aphatoi* and *phatoi*, *rhetoi* and *arrhetoi*, *briai* and *briaonta*. Here the repetition is direct and straightforward and is neither interlaced nor involved. In lines 5-7 *rhea* (*rheia*) is repeated four times, and lines 5-8 rhyme, but there is no complexity. Again from line 707 to 759 *mede* occurs twenty-six times, each time at the beginning of a clause. Unquestionably Hesiod's purpose in the intensive repetition is rhetorical effect and this is achieved without recourse to complicated pattern.

Pindar uses a repetition quite similar to the Hesiodic anaphora, but somewhat more highly developed. For example *Olymp. II, 2*:

τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδῆσμεν;
and XIV, 7:

εἰ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνὴρ

In the first six lines of the fragments of Pindar's *Hymn for the Thebans*, *e* is repeated seven times.⁶ This repetition

of a single word at the beginning of several phrases or clauses must have had quite a rhetorical impact when the poetry was sung but it does not seem so effective when read.

The dramatists rely heavily on repetition but here again there is no intricate pattern. This will be discussed later in connection with another part of the hymn. Let it suffice for the moment to say that there are no examples of a complex "visual" repetitive pattern in any of the dramatists. The repetition is never so complex as to be ineffective when heard.⁷

If we compare Callimachus the results are very different. His works display the technique possible only in a written text. In the closing lines of the *Hymn to Zeus* for example, lines 87-96:⁸

ἐσπέριος κείνος γε τελεῖ τὰ κεν ἦρι νοήρῃ
ἐσπέριος τὰ μέγιστα, τὰ μείονα δ' εὖτε νοήσῃ.
ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλειῶνι τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐνί, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ πάντων
αὐτὸς ζῆνι ἐκόλουσας, ἐνέκλαστας δὲ μενονήν.
χαῖρε μέγα, Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε, δῶτορ ἑδῶν,
δῶτορ ἀπημονίης. τεὰ δ' ἔργματα τις κεν ἀείδῃ;
οὐ γένετ', οὐκ ἔσται. τίς κεν Διὸς ἔργματ' ἀείδῃ;
χαῖρε πάτερ, γαῖρ' αὖθι, δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τ' ἀφένος τε.
οὐτ' ἀρετὴς ἄτερ ὄλβος ἐπύσσεται ἄνδρας ἀέξειν,
οὐτ' ἀρετὴ ἀφένιοι. δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

Lines 87-88 begin and end with the same words, forming a couplet which anticipates the concluding paragraph of the hymn. The conclusion includes two such couplets, one, divided by two lines, to allow pattern without overly-mechanical effect. The second halves of the two lines separating the *chaire* . . . couplet end with phrases, similar but varied to prevent monotony. In the last two and a half lines *arete*, *olbos* and *aphenos* are carefully interlaced, again producing this complex counterpoint of repetition.

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, lines 50-52, we have the same techniques as those used by Callimachus:

ὥς ῥα θεοὺς ἐνέμειξε καταθνητῆσι γυναῖξιν
καί τε καταθνητοὺς υἱέϊς τέκον ἀθανάτοισιν,
ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμειξε καταθνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Here is exactly the same sort of interlaced repetitions and counterpoint of repetition and variation as that used by Callimachus in the *Hymn to Zeus*. It is impossible to state that the one poet copied from the other. What we have attempted to show is this: that both the poet of the hymn and Callimachus used the same poetic devices and that these devices, only effective on the written page, do not appear in Greek poetry until the Alexandrian period.

III

IT REMAINS now again to approach the question of dating on the basis of poetic technique without the prejudice of the previous section governing our decision. In the first twenty-one lines of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* the word *ergon* is used seven times. The first occurrence is in line 1:

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε, ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης

This line is quite similar to the opening line of the *Odyssey*, substituting however *erga* for *andra*. To anyone familiar with the *Odyssey* this establishes *erg* 'Aphrodites' as the subject of the poem. In its second and third occurrences *erga* is used in the same sense as in line 1. It is modified in line 6 by the genitive *eūstephanou Kutherieis* while line 9 repeats the phrase of the first line. Says Porter, "The word *erga* has acquired, in addition to its primary symbolism, i.e. the dictionary meaning valid for the age, a secondary symbolic value, i.e. physical love. This secondary meaning will inevitably be suggested whenever the word appears in the poem, no matter how it is used."⁹

In line 10 there is a sudden transition in meaning. The word appears in the singular and with an entirely different substantival object: Ares. In lines 11 and 15 *erga* is used with a totally

different meaning. It is modified by *aglaa* and means 'bright skills, household tasks.' The phrase *erg* 'Aphrodites' in line 21 returns to the meaning established in lines 1, 6 and 9. The word is used only once more in the poem, line 122, in the sense of 'fields,' but this instance is so remote that we can hardly suppose that any reference to the earlier passage was intended. But in the cluster of repetitions, where *ergon* is used seven times in 21 lines with three clearly differentiated meanings, there is certainly a play upon these changes of meaning.

A type of repetition similar to this is employed by the dramatists. Aeschylus for example, in his *Eumenides* uses *dike* and its related words such as *dikaïos*, *dikaïôs*, *dikastes*, *dikadzo* some fifty-nine times. The basic meaning of this word is the theme of the play, but its variant meanings are brought in and played upon, always recalling however the essential meaning. The word occurs less in clusters than in isolated instances, so the play upon the change of meaning is not so common as the frequency of the word would lead one to believe. But there are clusters where the play is quite evident and the technique is similar to that employed with *ergon* in our hymn. In line 218 *dikei* means 'justice, right' while six lines later *dikas* means 'trial, case'; in line 433 *diken* means 'judgment' and again, after a six line interval, *dikei* is used with the meaning 'justice'.

In Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* *phuo* and its related words occur thirty times. Here the technique is not quite the same as in Aeschylus, for while *phuo* varies in different contexts, we have been unable to find any instance where the shift in meaning is specifically played upon. Rather the stress is laid on the basic meaning of the word and its connotations, for since the 'nature' of Oedipus is so important a theme, this word serves as a constant reminder. In lines 435-438, for example, Oedipus is questioning Teiresias on the cause of the plague, and anger is stead-

ily mounting. In the short speech beginning on 435 Teiresias makes mention of Oedipus' parents, a quick flurry occurs as the secret is almost revealed, and in 439 the argument returns to its original subject, the parentage of Oedipus, still unrevealed. In those four lines *phuo* and its related words occur four times. The word takes various meanings in that short passage, but the tension is too high for a play on the subtleties, and the purpose of the repetition is the emphasis of the idea 'you are by nature'. Nevertheless this technique is similar to Aeschylus because the meaning of the word makes a decided change, unlike the repetition of Hesiod and Pindar.

This technique of repetition with variation in meaning comes up again in the Hellenistic writers, but the technique is more playful and less rigorous. Callimachus may use some occasional play, such as in the *Amatory Epigrams* 146, line 4:¹⁰

ὣς ἅτερ οὐδ' αὐτὰι τὰι Χάριτες Χάριτες.

or in his *Hymn to Demeter* 137-8.¹¹

φέρβε βόας, φέρε μᾶλα, φέρε στάχυν, αἶε θερισμῶν
φέρβε καὶ εἰράναν, ἵν' ὅς ᾤσσε κείνος ὁμῆτη.

Meleager uses this type of repetition quite frequently, for example, *Amatory Epigrams* 149:

τίς μοι Ζηνοφίλαν λαλῶν παρέδεδεν ἑταῖραν,
τίς μίαν ἐκ τρισητῶν ἡγάγε μοι Χάριτα;
ἢ ῥ' ἐτύμως ἀνὴρ κεχαρισμένον ἄνυσεν ἔργον,
δῶρα δίδούς, καὶ τῶν τὰν Χάριν ἐν χάριτι.

Other examples from Meleager are *Amatory Epigrams* 143, 148, 154 and *Musa Puerilis* 54, 56, 57; and from some of his contemporaries: Philodemus, *Amatory Epigrams* 115, and Antipater of Sidon, *Sepulchral Epigrams* 29. But the repetition in our hymn is not of this light, sophisticated type. It seems to lie somewhere between the dramatists and Callimachus. We have a long blank

space in that period during which literary forms developed. Since the fourth century is unattested, we cannot be more specific as to the precise stage of development to which our hymn belongs.

IV

LEAVING the discussion of stylistic development, we turn to the other evidence, first of all to the manuscript tradition. Unlike the texts of any of the other long hymns, the text of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is in excellent condition and unmarred by either lacunae or corrupt readings, both of which occur profusely in all of the other long Homeric hymns. The only corrections necessary in our hymn are caused, as Allen says, "rather by the misplaced activity of critics than by real obscurities in the tradition."¹² Matthiae has attributed this to *benigna fortuna*.¹³ Now no one could quarrel with this. It certainly was a most kind fortune to transmit to us, unmarred, so splendid a poem. The truth is that Matthiae's explanation is begging the question. Every literary work that has been transmitted to us in good condition from the fifth century or before seems to owe its long life to popularity. If this hymn was so popular, then how is it that it was never quoted, discussed, or even mentioned in the whole body of Greek literature? Every work of Hellenic Greece that still exists with a relatively uncorrupted text is quoted, discussed, or at least mentioned somewhere. Until some other explanation can be advanced for its unique status, we must accept the condition of the manuscript as further evidence for a late date.

V

IN VOCABULARY this hymn is again distinctive. There are considerably fewer non-Homeric words, and furthermore there are fewer Hesiodic words than in the other long hymns. Thiele has pointed out¹⁴ that there is, in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, only one non-Homeric word in approximately every 12.75 lines, as compared with one in every 7 in

the *Apollo*, 5.25 in the *Demeter*, and 3.20 in the *Hermes*. On the basis of further evidence compiled by Thiele, we have found that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* also has the smallest percentage of Hesiodic words: 2.05% as compared with 2.75% in the *Apollo*, 3.64% in the *Demeter* and 6.04% in the *Hermes*. It appears that the hymns other than the *Aphrodite*, despite the fact that they were written in the spirit of Homer, were unable to avoid non-Homeric words, and among them, Hesiodic words. This is easy to understand, for the poems seem to have been written in a period when the language was close enough to Homer to make "purifying" of the vocabulary not an apparent necessity. To account for the Homeric-purity of the language of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, we must either assume a remarkable series of coincidences, which would be begging the question again, or we must admit that the poet consciously purified his vocabulary. This avoidance of non-Homeric words would unquestionably have occurred at a time when the language had changed from the Homeric so much that the difference was apparent, and this would bring our poem up at least to the sixth or fifth century, and more probably up to the fourth century or afterwards when linguistic investigations became known.

Another distinctive feature of the vocabulary is its poverty, so unlike the limitless variety of the vocabulary of Homer. And yet this poem uses more Homeric phraseology than any of the others. "As many as twenty verses," Allen states, "come from Homer with little or no variation."¹⁵ This is an imitation of originals too slavish to be attributed only to the use of epic formulae. More logical would be to combine these data with those mentioned above and conclude that these are characteristics of a poet of a much later age. Writing in a language very different from his own, he had to confine himself to vocabulary from texts, and this resulted in a limited selection and

a great dependence on the text for phrases and lines as well as words.

Further evidence supports this contention. In line 199 there is an example of a specifically Alexandrian usage:

ἔσχεν ἄλγος ἕνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνή.

This use of *heneka* as a conjunction meaning 'because,' while unprecedented in earlier Greek, became quite natural in the Alexandrian period. It is used by Apollonius Rhodius IV, 1521, Bion XII, 7, Callimachus Aet. III, 1, 6, and *Fragm.* 287.¹⁶

VI

ALLEN states, "To see in the hymn a contamination of the Greek Aphrodite and the Asiatic Cybele is unsound . . . the hymn writer follows the Homeric conception . . ."¹⁷ We can find no evidence to support this view. There are two concepts of Aphrodite expressed in the hymn. In the proemium she is not Homeric but the Eastern goddess, the regenerative force of nature. As the poet puts it, lines 1-6:

Μοῦσά μοι ἐνεπεε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης
Κύπριδος, ἣ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὸν ἥμερον ὤρσε
καί τ' ἐδομάστατο φύλα καταθητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
αἰωνούς τε διιπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,
ἧμὲν δ' ἡπίερος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδ' ὄσα πόντος
πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμνηεν εὖσσεφάνου Κυβερείης

After the proemium, the poet turns to the Aphrodite of Homeric personality, whose power is strictly limited; however, when she is pictured in lines 69-74, surrounded by a host of Oriental animals whom she causes to mate, the Asiatic concept is again suggested. This idea of Aphrodite, the Cybele concept, invaded Hellenic religion "in the fifth and later centuries".¹⁸ Evidence of the concept first appears in Fragment 43 of Aeschylus.¹⁹ The Aphrodite-concept would date our hymn as no earlier than the fifth century.

VII

UNFORTUNATELY metrical analysis does

not help us in dating the poem. Statistics based on a poem as short as the *Aphrodite* (293 lines) can have little validity and can provide only doubtful evidence. The attempts made to date the poem by analysis of its metrics seem to us invalid. For example, Porter, in his recent analysis of the structure of the early Greek hexameter,²⁰ dates the *Hymn to Aphrodite* together with the *Apollo*, but he is forced to dismiss certain significant differences between the poems with questionable logic.²¹

On the basis of relative use and neglect of digamma, Allen, Halliday and Sikes give the *Aphrodite* an early date.²² There is no denying the importance of digamma decay as an indication of date, however it must be kept in mind (1) that our poem, too short for statistical validity, is being compared with poems of about twice its length; (2) that our poem gains almost Homeric proportion of digamma from its correspondence with Homeric diction. Allen, Halliday and Sikes point this out:

The value, however, of the digamma as a criterion of age is gravely qualified by the extent to which any particular hymn depends upon Homer. It is obvious that lines borrowed from Homer containing observances or neglects of the digamma cannot be adduced as proof of the age of the hymn which borrows them.²³

In fact, if we omit from consideration all the phrases directly quoted from Homer, the ratio of observance to neglect of digamma is appreciably reduced. It is less than any of the other longer hymns except the *Hymn to Hermes*.²⁴ This ratio could hardly be considered evidence for a date. It merely shows that the observation and neglect of digamma is of little value in dating a poem as imitative as the *Aphrodite*.

It would seem that there is no positive evidence for dating the poem on metrical grounds.

VIII

ALL THE EVIDENCE which we have considered is not so unanimous as to allow a fairly precise date. The findings

Housman's Latin Inscriptions

IN THE POPULAR MIND the fame of A. E. Housman rests solidly on his tiny book of poetry, *A Shropshire Lad*, now a minor English literary classic almost sixty years old. But among many students and professors of Latin his editions of Manilius, Lucan and Juvenal, and his numerous articles and reviews in the scholarly journals entitle him to a position in the world of classical studies equalled only by Bentley's. Housman's colleague at Cambridge, A. S. F. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, says in his admirable *A. E. Housman: A Sketch* that the "ruling ambition of [A. E. H.'s] life was plainly 'to build himself a monument,'"¹ by which he meant his five-volume *Astronomicon* of Manilius, on which he labored for more than thirty years. Besides his poems and his work on Latin and Greek authors, Housman did some writing in Latin, though Gow says "he had little taste for it."² The best known is the elegiac dedication in

on the basis of style, that the hymn is of the fourth century or later, are confirmed by the other evidence. The manuscript tradition and the vocabulary suggest a date in the Alexandrian period; the concept of the goddess forbids a date earlier than the fifth century. Such evidence can rarely be more precise, since a poem is the result of any number of influences, each developed along its own line and not all changing into the specific character of any one given period. When evidence for dating is not in complete agreement, we cannot seek an average, but must rather choose the latest date evidenced. We must conclude that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* belongs to the fourth century or after, most probably to the Alexandrian age.

GRACE FREED

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NOTES

¹ "Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *AJP*, LXX (1949), 249-72.

² Compare the *Hymn to Apollo* 462-72 (T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Oxford, 1936) in which five and one half lines are taken from the *Odyssey*, but the lines are for the most part formulaic. The parallel lines are given by G. O. Windisch, *De Hymnis Homericis Maioribus* (Leipzig, 1867), 12.

³ Porter (op. cit., p. 268) reads *Thuodea* instead of the *Thuodes* of the hymn, line 59.

⁴ Porter, op. cit., 268-9.

⁵ For a discussion of Homeric repetition see G. M. Calhoun, "Homeric Repetitions," *Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil.*, XII (1933-44), 1-25, and C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford, 1930), 87-96.

⁶ *Fragm.* 29 Bergk.

⁷ Whether or not the plays were intended for distribution need not concern us here, for they were certainly written for oral production. W. C. Greene discusses this problem: "The Spoken and Written Word," *HSCP LX* (1951), 38-39.

⁸ A. Meineke, Berlin, 1861.

⁹ Porter, op. cit., 252.

¹⁰ Selections from the *Greek Anthology* (*Amatory and Sepulchral Epigrams and the Musa Puerilis*) are from the Loeb edition: W. R. Paton, London, 1917.

¹¹ A. Meineke, Berlin, 1861.

¹² T. W. Allen, "The Text of the Homeric Hymns," *JHS*, VIII (1898), 23.

¹³ A. Matthias, *Animadversiones in Hymnos Homericos* (Leipzig, 1800), 67.

¹⁴ R. Thiele, *Prolegomena ad Hymnum in Venerem* (Halle, 1872), 43.

¹⁵ Allen, Halliday and Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford, 1936), 350.

¹⁶ The first, second and fourth examples are cited by Allen, Halliday and Sikes, op. cit., 365. The usage is quite different in Pindar, *Isth.* 8.33, where *heneka* is used for *hoti*, 'that'.

¹⁷ Allen, Halliday and Sikes, op. cit., 351.

¹⁸ L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1907), III, 298.

¹⁹ A. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragm.*, Leipzig, 1856.

²⁰ YCS, XII (1951), 3-43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 32: "One consistent difference is that the hymn to Aphrodite has a higher number of all line-types which end with a colon of 6 morae. . . . This is to be explained not on metrical grounds but by subject matter, the frequent occurrence of the words *Aphrodite* and *anthropos* at the end of the line." Obviously we should credit the artist with the ability to manipulate the placement of words within the line in whatever manner he finds metrically satisfactory.

²² Allen, Halliday and Sikes, op. cit., cvi: "'H. Ap., h. Aphr.', and h. Dem. are all old, but the percentages of observances and neglects do not differ so materially as to fix an order between them."

²³ *Ibid.*, cvi.

²⁴ Allen, Halliday and Sikes (op. cit., cil) give the following ratios of digamma observance to neglect: *Demeter* 1.342:1, *Apollo* 2:1, *Hermes* 0.55:1, *Aphrodite* 1.9:1. However of the instances of observance and neglect in the *Aphrodite* (as cited ci), 19 of the 46 observances, and only 3 of the 24 neglects are in Homeric phrases. Omitting the quoted phrases, we find the ratio of digamma observance to neglect in the *Aphrodite* to be 1.29:1.

Latin of Manilius to Moses J. Jackson, Housman's greatest friend.³ Another, hardly known at all, is an address in Latin prose to the University of Sydney, listed in Housman's bibliography, actually signed by the President of University College, London, never collected or reprinted.⁴ A third item is "Hendecasyllables," a translation of John Dryden's "Britain" from *King Arthur* ("Fairest isle, all isles excelling"), which appeared in *The Bromsgrovia*, the Bromsgrove School magazine, in 1882 over the signature "A. E. H." It is reprinted below for the first time:

O quot fert Thetis, insularum ocelle,
O domus venerum cupidinumque,
Haec sibi Cytherea vindicabit
Templa posthabita colenda Cypro.
Hinc suis metuens puer fugabit
Curarum mala lividamque linguam:
Cedent perniciēs amoris irae,
Exspes cedit amans mori paratus.

Lenes dulce querentium susurri,
Quae suspiria ventitant calorem,
Fastus difficiles parum, repulsa
Finiet male pertinax dolores.
Omnis officio studens juvenus
Torrebit face mutua puellas:
His palmam facies parabit; illis
Gentium veniet fides in ora.⁵

A further group of Housman's writings, comparatively unknown, is very briefly referred to by Gow: "He composed from time to time a Latin inscription for a memorial brass in the [Trinity] College Chapel."⁶ Of these five inscriptions and three others in Bromsgrove, London and Cambridge, only two have been published in books. As even these books are neither well known nor widely circulated, and as Latin instructors may well wish to see how one of the great scholars wrote in the ancient language, Housman's eight pieces of prose are here first collected.⁷ Permission has been granted by Trinity College, Cambridge; University College, London; the University Library, Cambridge; and the Bromsgrove School, Worcestershire, on whose walls the originals may be seen. Acknowledgments are due to H. W. R. Wade, Secretary of the Trinity College Council; Dr. D. T. Adrian, Master of Trinity College; John Wilks, Librarian of University College; H. R. Creswick, Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge; and the Rev. D. J. Walters, Headmaster of the Bromsgrove School, for their kind assistance.

The memorial brass inscriptions by Housman in the Trinity College Chapel were composed between 1918 and 1934 while he was Kennedy Professor of Latin in Cambridge and Fellow of Trinity College. The first inscription was for Henry Montagu Butler (1833-1918), for twenty-six years Headmaster of Harrow and thirty-one years Master of Trinity College, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, 1889-1891. An enthusiast for Italy, a student of Dante, brother-in-law of Sir Francis Galton, a friend of Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Charles Kingsley, John Ruskin, he had a reputation as one of the best after-dinner speakers of his day and as a facile writer of Latin verse. The Trinity historian G. M. Trevelyan, speaks of Butler's "unique blend of dignity and loving-kindness," and in reference to Housman: "It might have been expected that the severity of his [Housman's] thought and temper would have refused to melt in the beams of Montagu Butler's expansive benevolence and vobule optimism. But it proved otherwise. Housman recognized the Master's unique quality, and in the inscription he composed for the commemorative brass in the ante-Chapel he showed not only his own skill in Latin but a nice appreciation of Butler's rare qualities."⁸

IN MEMORIAM
 HENRICI MONTACVTI BUTLER S.T.P.
 HVIVS DOMVS ALVMNI SOCH
 PER XXXI ANNOS MAGISTRI
 VIRI INTEGRI SANCTI IVCVNDI.
 FVERVNT IN ILLO MVLTAE LITTERAE,
 ANTIQVITATIS MAGNA NOTITIA,
 MEMORIA TENACISSIMA,
 FACILIS ORATIONIS ELEGANTIA,
 CUM GRAVITATE JVNCTVS FACETIARVM LEPOS.
 IDEM COLLEGII SVI AMANTISSIMVS
 ANIMI NON IN SVOS TANTVM BENIGNISSIMI
 CARITATEM QVA CETEROS COMPLEXVS EST
 SIBI CONCILIAVIT.
 NATVS A. D. VI NON. IVL. A.S. MDCCCXXXIII
 CHRISTI IN FIDE
 QVAM SERMONE ELOQVENTIA VITA
 COMMENDAVERAT
 OBDORMIVIT A.D. XIX KAL. FEB
 A.S. MDCCCXCVIII
 HERGAE IN COLLE
 OPERAE OLIM STRENVE NAVATAE TESTE
 SEPVLTVS QVIESCIT⁹

Later that same year Joseph Prior (1834-1918) died, and Housman was asked to write the memorial. Prior spent sixty-four years of his life in Trinity College; he took his degree in 1858, was made a Fellow in 1860, served as Tutor 1870-1886, and held the post of Senior Fellow for twenty-six years, beginning in 1892. His interests included music, gardening, and art, and he collected pictures, china, and furniture. A colleague, J. Ellis McTaggart, says in Prior's obituary: "His work for the college was pre-eminently that of a Tutor [when they] were relatively more important than they are at present . . . But his work ended thirty-two years ago, and [Prior became] the most delightful of companions . . . He always, when his health would permit it, dined in hall, and . . . it was impossible to be dulled or depressed, if one sat within hearing of his talk: . . . a brilliant epigram or repartee [or] just a succession of reminiscences of the past, and comments on the present . . . garnished with fantastic conceits [which were] delightful."¹⁰

HOC TITVLO MEMORIAE TRADITVR
 JOSEPHVS PRICR A. M.
 HVIVS COLLEGII PER LVIII ANNOS SOCIVS
 PER XVI TVTOR
 PER XXVIII INTER COLLEGAS AETATE MAXIMVS
 APERTI PECTORIS ET COMIS INGENII HOMO
 LEPORVM FONS IVGIS AC PROFLVENS
 SENEX IUVENIBVS ACCEPTVS
 ET QVOVIS IUVENE HILARIOR
 QVEM SOCII SERMOCINANTEM DILIGEBANT
 TACITVM DESIDERANT
 OBIIT A. D. XVII KAL. NOV. MDCCCXCVIII
 ANNOS NATVS LXXXIV¹¹

The third inscription by A. E. H. was for the mathematician, Henry Martyn Taylor (1842-1927), who served Trinity as Fellow, Tutor and Lecturer from 1866 until retiring in 1894. However, in 1884 after an attack of influenza, he became partially and then completely blind; but he continued his interest in mathematics, wrote original papers for the *Philosophical Transactions*, and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1898. He became an expert on the Braille typing machine and transcribed elementary books on mathematics and natural science. He was active in the administration of the College, represented the University on the Cambridge town council, was an Alderman, and Mayor of Cambridge in 1904. After Housman had composed the inscription for Taylor he sent it to Gow with a note: "I enclose what I have written for Taylor. I have put it with labour into capital script in the vain hope of excluding J's and U's, which the executant will nevertheless introduce whenever he thinks proper, and only half of which will be removed."¹² Oddly enough, this memorial brass has capital letters only in the first line, the rest of the inscription being in lower-case letters with u's (and not v's):

MEMORIAE SACRVM HENRICI MARTYN TAYLOR

huius collegii per LXI annos socii aliquando lectoris tutorisque,
 qui anno aetatis LII aspectu priuatus
 erecto animo studioque alacri
 communes tenebras habitantibus facem accendit
 et nouis artis typographicae ingeniis exquisitis
 effecit ut oculorum damnum digitis pensantes
 mathematicam omni luce clariorem consequi possent,
 ipse etiam caecus et prope sexagenarius
 municipii Cantabrigiensis praefectura functus
 et in collegii consiliis usque assiduus
 natus lun. d. VI an. MDCCCXLII obiit Oct. d. XVI an. MDCCCXXVII
 sociorum princeps.¹³

Another mathematician, James Whitbread Lee Glaisher (1848-1928), was the subject of Housman's next inscription for the Trinity Chapel. At Trinity College from 1867 until his death and Senior Fellow at the time, he was a foreign member of the National Academy of Science (Washington), President "because of his personal charm" for thirty-three years of the Royal Astronomical Society club, a Fellow of the Royal Society at the age of twenty-seven, and the author of numerous papers on mathematics and astronomy. He began to study pottery in his forties, became one of the leading collectors of his day, and both his elaborate forty-volume MS catalogue and his collection are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. In 1915 Housman wrote to his publisher Grant Richards about Glaisher: "The mathematician whom you sat next to at our high table, upon hearing that I had been to the Riviera with you, said that he hoped you had not been running after women all the time. Whether this was an inference from your conversation or a generalisation from his own experience of travelling-companions I do not know." As this remark annoyed Richards, Housman replied a little later: "You should not let what the mathematician said worry you. When his mind is not occupied by mathematics or pottery it is apt to run on the relations of the sexes, and I seldom sit next him without that topic arising. He possesses all the editions of *Fanny Hill*,¹⁴ a book with which I daresay you never polluted your mind."¹⁵ The memorial brass reads:

JACOBVS WHITBREAD LEE GLAISHER
 HVIVS COLLEGII E SOCIIS, QVORVM PRINCEPS
 DECESSIT, ET SVO TEMPORE TVTORIS OFFICIO FVNCTVS
 VIR MATHEMATICAE ASTRONOMIAEQVE PERITISSIMVS,
 QVIBVS IN STVDIIS ASSIDVVS NE OTIVM QVIDEM TORPERE
 PASSVS EST SED OPERIS FIGLINI DOCTVS EXISTIMATOR,
 INDAGATOR STRENVVS, LARGVS DONATOR INCLARVIT,
 ANIMI ET CORPORIS IN SENECTVTE IVVENALIS, MITIS
 ET ERGA OMNES COMIS INGENII ELECTIS AMICIS TOTVS
 DEDITVS, NATVS AN. MDCCCXLVII MENS. NOV. D. V
 OBIIT AN. MDCCCXXVIII MENS. DEC. D VII¹⁶

The last of the Trinity commemorative brasses by Housman was for Reginald Vere Laurence (1876-1934), for whom the poet had the warmest of feelings. Fellow and former Senior Tutor of Trinity, University Lecturer in History, Laurence was Junior Bursar when Dr. Percy Withers met A. E. H. at Cambridge during World War I. Dr. Withers writes that as Housman spoke of Laurence his "voice and manner disclosed more of affection than I ever heard from Housman's lips but once." And he continues:

When in November 1934 he wrote to tell me of the loss they had suffered in Laurence's premature death, and told of the fortitude he displayed in his intention to lecture on the very day he died, the letter switched off to the unexpected and rather anomalous, but characteristic, comment: "He (Laurence) talked so much about me to his nurse that she has written to bespeak me for her next death-bed." This Puck-like quality he indulged not unusually as a tangent to circumstances he recounted with pain. It does not show callousness or levity, but is a customary subterfuge, and perhaps an intended disguise, for any regret he felt deeply.

I knew during my Cambridge days how greatly he cared for Laurence, but I did not realize, did not think him capable of, the affectionateness he displayed in word, voice and aspect, when, on his next visit, he returned to the subject. He spoke with intense feeling of his personal loss, and the warmth and quality of his estimation was such that no man could have desired more of a friend. And again he told me of the nurse's assurance that the dying man, up to the very last, had talked of him constantly. There was a note of exultation throughout the recital; and all he said — words, tone, and articulation — expressed a proud and glad legacy.¹⁷

Knowing this, one may appreciate Housman's "classic" restraint:

REGINALDVS VERE LAVRENCE
 HVIVS COLL * PER ANNOS XXXIII SOCIVS, CVI VARIE ET
 ASSIDVE OPERAM SVAM NAVAVIT, MVNERIBVS EX
 ORDINE FVNCTVS LECTORIS, DECANI IVNIORIS, TVTORIS,
 VTILISSIME VERO THESAURARII IVNIORIS ANNIS BELLO
 INQUIETATIS, QVIBVS NATVRALI INGENII SOLLERTIA
 RES DIFFICILLIMAS AD PROSPEROS EXITVS DVCENDI
 CAPAX EXSTITIT * VIR ERAT AD HISTORIAE STVDIVM NATVS
 DOCTOR DISCIPVLIS ACCEPVS, COLLEGIS AMICISQVE
 DVLCE CONVICTVS MEMBRVM, CONVIVA IVCVNDISSIMVS
 NATVS A * D * III * ID * IVL * MDCCCLXXVI
 OBIIT A * D * XV * KAL * NOV * MDCCCXXXIV¹⁸

In addition to the Trinity Chapel inscriptions, Housman composed three others for the Flaxman Gallery in University College, London; for the Kyteless block in the Bromsgrove School; and for the Scott collection of Burmese books in the University Library, Cambridge. The first of these was done during

A. E. H.'s term as Professor of Latin in University College, 1892-1911, although the collection of casts by John Flaxman (1755-1826), to which the inscription refers, had been placed in the College many years before. Flaxman, one of Britain's most noted sculptors and responsible for the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, is said to show in these models "an instinct beyond that of any of his contemporaries for the true qualities of Greek design . . . the secret . . . of combining ideal grace of form and rhythmical composition of lines with spontaneousness and truth of pose and gesture, and the unaffected look of life."¹⁹ This collection came to the College through the work of Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867), a friend of Schiller, Goethe, Lamb, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, and one of the founders of University College, London. The Flaxman Gallery, enlarged by Robinson's gifts and maintained by his legacy, was, he once said, "the single act of his life which would leave sensible and recognisable consequences after his death."²⁰ The casts may still be seen, marred though they have been by successive coats of paint intended for their protection, in the main College building, which recently had its Nazi bomb damage repaired. This, Housman's earliest inscription, reads:

HAS IMAGINES
IOANNIS FLAXMAN
MANV FICTAS
D. D. MARIA DENMAN
IPSIVS FILIA ADOPTIVA
AVCTORE HENRICO
CRABB ROBINSON QVI SVB
HOC THOLO COLLOCANDAS
CONSERVANDASQVE
CVRAVIT ANNIS P.C.N.
MDCCCXLVII-MDCCCLVIII²¹

Two years after leaving University College for Cambridge, Housman was asked to compose the Latin inscription for the foundation stone of a new block of classrooms known at Kyeless at the Bromsgrove School. This was the School in Worcestershire which Housman attended as a foundation scholar from 1870 to 1877, when it was called the Grammar School of King Edward the Sixth. While there he took a number of prizes and won a scholarship to St. John's College, Oxford. After his tragic Oxford failure in Greats in 1881, he returned to Bromsgrove to study for the Civil Service examination and also taught the Sixth Form in the Bromsgrove School for one year before going to the Patent Office in London. Ten years later he began his academic career at University College, and by 1913 had an international reputation in the field of classical learning. Housman's inscription on the stone, laid in June of that year, was not mentioned in *The Bromsgrove Messenger's* account of the ceremonies,²² as he did not compose it until later; but it is given in full in a recent history of the School.²³ The present Headmaster writes me: "I doubt whether it is known in the town [Bromsgrove] that A. E. Housman was the author of the inscription on the Kyeless building, but it is of course known in the School." Alfred Lyttelton (1857-1913), who laid the stone, was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, a lawyer and statesman but best known as a cricketer, his playing being called "the champagne of cricket." It was after taking part in a match in East Africa a few days after the Bromsgrove event that he was taken suddenly ill and died. He is cited in the inscription:

HVNC LAPIDEM DOMVS FVNDAMENTVM
IN MVLTÀ MORTALIVM SAECVLA MANSVRAE
DIE XX MENSIS IVNI ANNI MDCCCCXIII POSVIT
ALVREDVS LYTTTELTON
QVEM QVINDECIM POST DIEBVS
SVIS ET PATRIAE ERIPVIT MORTALITAS²⁴

Three years before Housman died in 1936 at the age of seventy-seven, he wrote the inscription for a collection of books about Burma given to the University Library, Cambridge by Sir Robert Forsyth Scott (1849-1933). Scott was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge from 1908 until his death, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1910-1912. The inscription on the plate on a case containing the Burmese books reads:

QVI HOC IN ARMARIO SERVANTVR
APVD INDOS EXTRA GANGEM CONQVISITI CODICES
VNIVERSITATI CANTABRIGIENSI
SECVNDVM TESTAMENTVM
ROBERTI FORSYTH SCOTT
EQVITIS AVRATI, COLLEGII S. IOANNIS MAGISTRI
DONATI SVNT
A. S. MDCCCCXXXIII²⁵

In these stately and measured prose inscriptions Housman, for perhaps the few times in his life, used his knowledge of Latin for other purposes than to pillory a fellow scholar. Although the language presents certain difficulties in its use in modern times, although the form and style are more or less fixed in such memorial brasses, although restraint is clearly evident, and although he had admittedly small relish for his task, Housman could here show the affection and warmth he felt for his fellow exiles on earth. Bottled up though his feelings were in his lonely years as a classical scholar in his Cambridge cloister, one often catches a glimpse between his almost poetic lines of Latin inscriptions into the heart of the man who also wrote *A Shropshire Lad*.

WILLIAM WHITE

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NOTES

¹ A. S. F. Gow, A. E. Housman: *A Sketch Together with a List of His Writings and Indexes to His Classical Papers* (New York: The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England: At the University Press, 1936), p. 15. In contrast to other accounts of Housman's life, the emphasis in Gow is on the Cambridge don and classical scholar.

² A. S. F. Gow, A. E. Housman: *A Sketch*, p. 77n.

³ M. Manili, *Astronomicum Liber Primus*, recensuit et enarravit A. E. Housman (London: Apud Grant Richards, MDCCCIII), p. v. Also in editio altera (Cantabrigiae: Typis Academiae, MDCCCXXXVII), p. iii. The dedication was translated into English verse by the critic Edmund Wilson, "Dedication to a Book," *The Bookman* (New York), LXVI (October 1927), 162; both the original and the translation are reprinted in Grant Richards, *Housman: 1897-1936* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941; New York, 1942), pp. 441-443. Gilbert Murray is said to have called Housman's work the best poem in Latin written since the ancient world. See Richards, pp. 304-308 for some details of the Housman-Jackson relationship.

⁴ Record of the Jubilee Celebrations of the University of Sydney, September 30th, 1902 (Sydney: William Brooks and Co., Limited, 1903), p. 144.

This address of 15 lines, signed "Reay, Collegii Praeses," is mentioned by Gow, p. 80n, who says: "I have seen a draft in Housman's hand for a Latin address from University College [London] to the University of Sydney, and I suppose that as Professor of Latin at University College he may have been called upon for other such addresses." John Carter and John Sparrow, A. E. Housman: *An Annotated Hand-List* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952), p. 26, list the Sydney address as the only one in Latin.

⁵ A. E. H., "Hendecasyllables," *The Broomsgrovian*, I (25 May 1882), 92. Housman's poem is followed on the same page by Dryden's

Fairest Isle, all Isles Excelling,
Seat of Pleasure, and of Loves;
Venus here, will chuse her Dwelling,
And forsake her Cyprian Groves.

Cupid, from his Fav'rite Nation,
Care and Envy will remove;

Jealousie, that poysons Passion,
And Despair that dies for Love.

Gentle Murmurs, sweet Complaining,
Sighs that blow the Fire of Love;
Soft Repulses, kind Dsdaining,
Shall be all the Pains you prove.

Every Swain shall pay his Duty,
Grateful every Nymph shall prove;
And as these Excel in Beauty,
Those shall be Renown'd for Love.

⁶ A. S. F. Gow, *A. E. Housman: A Sketch*, p. 32. Besides the eight pieces I am giving, Gow also lists one for J. M. Image. As I was unable to find this among the memorial brasses in the Trinity College Chapel, I wrote to Mr. Gow, who replied: "The inscription for J. M. Image is a blunder of mine. Housman undertook to write one but never did so. I do not know of any inscriptions. I have not recorded."

⁷ Although Housman's will states, "I expressly desire . . . that none of my writings which have appeared in periodical publications shall be collected and reprinted in any shape or form," there is no injunction against the publication of his Latin inscriptions. As he was primarily concerned with his classical papers and did not wish to endorse many early opinions which he later altered, his literary executors have not felt that Housman would object to reprinting his poetry from periodicals.

⁸ G. M. Trevelyan, *Trinity College: An Historical Sketch* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1943), pp. 112-113; see also J. R. M. Butler, *Henry Montagu Butler: Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1886-1918* (London [etc.]: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), pp. 228-229. Both of these books print the inscription, with minor variations such as u where the brass has v. Except for the mention of Housman's authorship by Trevelyan, Butler, Icely (see footnote 23), and Gow, it is not generally known that A. E. H. composed these inscriptions.

⁹ Translation: In memory of Henry Montagu Butler, S.T.P., a pupil of this house, a Fellow, for 31 years a Master, an upright, venerable, pleasing man. There was in him much learning, great knowledge of antiquity, a most tenacious memory, elegance of skillful speech, charm of wit combined with seriousness. Also, [being] most fond of his College [and] of a spirit very well disposed not towards his own people alone, he won for himself the affection with which he embraced all others. Born on July 2, 1833 in the Christian faith, which he graced by his life, his eloquence and his speech, he went to sleep on January 14, 1918. On Herga Hill, a witness of the service vigorously rendered of old, he lies buried. (I am indebted to Professor Henry L. Robinson, who, with colleagues at Baylor University, translated this and the other inscriptions into English.)

¹⁰ J. Ellis McTaggart, "Joseph Prior," *The Cambridge Review*, XL (1 November 1918), 78-80.

¹¹ Translation: By this inscription is entrusted to memory Joseph Prior, M.A., a Fellow of this College for 58 years, a Tutor for 16 [years], for 28 years the eldest among his colleagues, a man of open heart and friendly disposition, a continuously flowing fountain of charm, as an old man pleasing to the young and more jovial than any youth, whom his associates highly esteemed when he was conversing and missed when he was silent. He died on October 16, 1918 at the age of 84.

¹² A. S. F. Gow, *A. E. Housman: A Sketch*, p. 32.

¹³ Translation: Sacred to the memory of Henry Martyn Taylor, Fellow of this College for 61 years, sometime Lecturer and Tutor, who, deprived of his sight in his 52nd year, with resolute courage and cheerful zeal lighted the torch for those dwelling in universal darkness, and by means of new and excellent artifices of the typographical art brought it about that those compensating with their fingers for the loss of their eyes might pursue clearer mathematics with full light, and he himself [although] blind and nearly 60 years old filled the office of Mayor of the town of Cambridge and [was] always steady in the deliberations of the College. Born June 6, 1842, he died on October 16, 1927 [while he was] Senior Fellow.

¹⁴ John Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (London: G. Fenton, 1749), better known as *Fanny Hill*, one of the famous works of English pornography; it is still in print (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1950).

¹⁵ Grant Richards, *Housman: 1897-1936*, pp. 137-138.

¹⁶ Translation: James Whitbread Lee Glaisher, one of the Fellows of this College, died [while he was] their chief, and in his time held the office of Tutor, a man most expert in mathematics and astronomy, in which studies being constantly engaged, he did not even permit his leisure to continue inactive but distinguished himself as a learned critic, vigorous investigator and liberal contributor of the potter's art, youthful of mind and body in old age and kind towards all, courteous, completely devoted by nature to his chosen friends. He was born on November 5, 1847 and died on December 7, 1928.

¹⁷ Percy Withers, *A Buried Life: Personal Recollections of A. E. Housman* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), pp. 35-36.

¹⁸ Translation: Reginald Vere Laurence, a Fellow of this College for 33 years, who rendered his service variously and diligently, performed unusual offices of Lecturer, as Assistant Dean, as Tutor, very usefully indeed as Assistant Treasurer during the years of anxiety occasioned by war, in which [offices] because of the quickness of his native talent he showed himself capable of carrying the most difficult tasks to successful conclusions. He was a man born for the study of history, a teacher pleasing to his pupils, colleagues, and friends, a pleasant companion, a most delightful guest. He was born July 13, 1876 and died October 18, 1934.

¹⁹ Sidney Colvin, "Flaxman, John," *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917), VII, 256.

²⁰ H. Hale Bellot, *University College London, 1826-1926* (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1929), p. 302. See also "Robinson, Henry Crabb," *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII, 16; and "Flaxman, John," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th edition, IX, 490. Information about Butler, Taylor, Glaisher, and Lyttelton in this article has also been taken from the DNB.

²¹ Translation: These images of John Flaxman, wrought by hand, were given by Maria Denman, his adopted daughter, upon the approval of Henry Crabb Robinson, who commanded them to be placed and preserved under this dome in the years 1847-1858.

²² *The Bromsgrove Messenger*, June 28, 1913, p. 3. The Kyteless block was opened on June 8, 1914 by Viscount Bryce; see *The Bromsgrove Messenger*, June 13, 1914.

²³ H. E. M. Icely, *Bromsgrove School Through Four Centuries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1953), p. 119. The inscription is printed with u's instead of v's; see also pp. 83-84, 94, 110 and 129 for mention of Housman and a portrait opposite p. 87.

²⁴ Translation: This foundation stone of the house that is going to endure for many centuries of mortal affairs, on the 20th day of the month of June of the year 1913, was laid by Alfred Lyttelton, whom death snatched away from his family and his country fifteen days later.

²⁵ Translation: The books that are kept in this cupboard, collected among the Indians beyond the Ganges, were given to Cambridge University in accordance with the testament of Robert Forsyth Scott, golden knight [and] Master of St. John's College, 1933.

William Bartram, a Classical Scientist¹

WILLIAM BARTRAM, who was born in Philadelphia in 1739 and whose life overlapped the colonial and national periods of United States history, would doubtless have regarded with surprise the inclusion of his botanical and ornithological journal as one of the masterpieces of American literature. Still more so would he have been astonished at being studied not only as a scientist but as a reflector of the Greco-Roman tradition, both as to his style and his content.

The Argonauts of transatlantic discovery had done their work, and the adventures by sea had given way to the beckoning Western frontier. There were men like the poet Freneau who altered their "myth" from the slogan of overseas exploration to the celebration of the new Utopia of the west and its possibilities for the future. The Red Man, with a few irritating exceptions, had turned into the Noble Savage. The spirit of the Enlightenment had reached its climax. The State of Nature as a political motif had been thoroughly assimilated. But in Bartram we have one who was still exploring, engaged in a sort of *Argonautica Botanica* among the rivers and swamps and savannas of the Southeastern colonies, full of new ideas and author of a journal of the first order.

In 1791 appeared the *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*.² The quality of this work, refuting Sydney Smith's quip: "Who ever reads an American book?", establishes Bartram in the canon of notable American writers, not only on its own merits but with the enthusiastic approval of Coleridge and Wordsworth, who quarried generously from its contents.³ We should also remember the injunction of Carlyle to

Emerson, that he read it from cover to cover. This son of John Bartram, who was himself a botanist of distinction, embarked in 1773 for the purpose of exploring and describing in these future states of the Union "the rare and useful productions of Nature". Thus a technical journal became a literary classic.

While John Bartram the pioneer collector⁴ had acquired his education by self-teaching, except for "a neighboring schoolmaster who in three months taught me Latin enough to understand Linnaeus," his son "Billy" was persuaded to leave his favorite flower-drawings long enough to attend the Academy of Philadelphia, where he studied under the scholar Charles Thomson, later Secretary to the Continental Congress. The father, a fellow of the Royal Society, had organized a neighborhood library at Darby, and was an early member, next to Franklin, of the American Philosophical Society. He succeeded in keeping the boy at school long enough to "learn his Latin and French". William's own bookshelf comprised some ancient authors, the works of Aristotle in translation, Ramsay's *Travels of Cyrus*, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Hume's *History of England*, and many botanical books.⁵ On his trips he read widely, even in the midst of hazards, and recorded his observations on the spot. Dr. Alexander Garden, the well-known Charleston scientist, describes his meetings with the Bartrams and Cadwallader Colden of New York in enthusiastic terms: these men were *animae quales neque candidiores terra tulit*.⁶

Young Bartram felt toward the Indians, as he did toward the Nature he loved to study, a sympathy common also to William Penn, the founder of

his own Pennsylvania and his own Society of Friends. He has no truck with men like the early Virginia settler Stockam, who would have recourse to Mars and Minerva instead of the "verbal Mercurials" (kindly interpreters): they should be kept at arms' length until their "Priests and Ancients" had their throats cut.⁷

Bartram, who sticks pretty closely to the botanical field, raises the question whether bullying the Indians over into the ways of Europeans is not far less desirable than to reach a cooperative understanding with them. He points out "the propriety of sending men of ability and virtue, under the auspices of government, as friendly visitors * * * let these men be instructed to learn perfectly their languages, and become acquainted with their customs and usages, religious and civil, their system of legislation and police, their traditions and history. These men, thus enlightened, would be qualified to make true reports * * * and offer to them a judicious plan for their civilization with us." A wiser Virginian than Stockam, a century later, William Byrd of Westover, approached the vexing problem from the same viewpoint.⁸

There is no direct mention of the Revolutionary War in the Journal, and little consideration of any vexing problems between the provinces and the mother country. The only "Sons of Liberty" are "the generous and true sons of liberty who dwell securely on the banks of the Alatomaha." The journalist is evidently reminded of the Amphiktyons and Grecian leagues⁹ when he describes the sacred capital of the Creek Indian confederacy, "where a general peace is proposed and deputies assemble from all the towns in the confederacy". Also, he regards the sheer desire for bloodshed or the craving for plunder as less provocative of war than the urge to absorb other nations into their own hegemony. This applies, he feels, to the Indians no less than to "the renowned Greeks and Romans" or the modern civilized nations.

His journal is a curious assemblage of exact scientific observation, couched in a style as classically ornate as that of any Colonial writer. His ultimate objective was the collection and description of specimens for Dr. John Fothergill, the English Quaker botanist and friend of Franklin. But he was no mere collector, and no mere rhapsode. With all his praise of the simple life and his yearning for the primitive,¹⁰ he knew how well his philosophy harmonized with the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. He has been called a deist, or a Neo-Platonist; but he is probably nearer to the Pantheism of the Stoics, for to him Nature contains God and is alive. Nature is an emanation of a benevolent God. To the Stoics the universe was a manifestation of divine reason: the individual person or thing was a part of the whole. One questions whether the God of Plotinus can be defined either by reason or by imagination: Original Being is not a physical process; Bartram's plants are living things rather than metaphysical abstractions.

There are many applications of this idea, although the reader (and the writer!) must be careful to avoid tempting analogies. The *Dionea Muscipula* flower,¹¹ which closes up to catch "incautious deluded insects," serves to bring the vegetable world into a class with the animal world, "organical, living, self-moving bodies," in harmony like man with the forces of the universe. To the same agency is ascribed the vital flow of the fountains which Coleridge copied for his subterranean caverns in *Kubla Khan*. "At the return of the morning, by the powerful influence of light, the pulse of nature becomes more active, and the universal vibration of life insensibly and irresistibly moves the wondrous machine."¹² Like a wise lover, he balances Reason with Emotion; he believes in "the more essential principle * * * which animates the illimitable machine which gives them motion * * * This must be divine and immortal". As

a student of Vergil, he applies and reflects "the Inner Spirit, Mind which moves all matter and blends into the mighty framework of the universe."

Bartram rejects the Aristotelian doctrine of the Strong Leader, thereby agreeing with statesmen like James Wilson,¹³ who would have no encroachment on the will of the people. The Mico of the Muscogulge tribe is elective; but, unlike the monarchs of the old world, is put at the head because of his character and the respect he inspires. Their "police" (i.e., system of government) "follows the simple dictates of reason." Here the traveller ennobles the Noble Savage beyond his deserts! Even the birds in Georgia and Florida live in an allegorical commonwealth, more practical, he implies, than the Cloud-Cuckoo-Land of Aristophanes.

One can find countless apostrophes couched in elaborate form and verging on that perilous border-line between genius and bathos. This is one reason why Bartram is so intriguing: you cannot tell whether he is a classicist or a romanticist. We may simply remark that the eighteenth century, with Burke in the lead, developed the idea of the Sublime,—and our botanist was among its most distinguished masters.¹⁴ But with all this elevation of style, this ornate writing, he was fundamental and plain in his meaning. The Sun of Plato's *Republic* and the perfection of beauty sketched in the *Phaedrus* or the *Symposium* are apostrophized in a passage worthy of Sir Thomas Browne, describing a triumph of sun over storm on the Alatomaha River: "The higher powers and affections of the soul are so blended with the inferior passions * * * Thus in the moral system which we have planned for our conduct, as a ladder whereby to mount to the summit of terrestrial glory * * * and from whence we perhaps meditated our flight to heaven, some accident surprises us. But let us wait and rely on our God, who in due time will shine forth in

brightness and reveal to us how finite and circumscribed is human power!"¹⁵

Technical terminology must be carefully distinguished from stylistic embellishment. *Spatula* of the *branchiostega* of the red-bellied sun-fish; *umbelliferous* tufts; *ocelle* (an eye-like spot on a fish); *villous* *lingulate* leaves; *trifid* ferns; even the compounded jaw-breaking Latin-derived word *infundibuliform* (funnel-shaped);—all these are botanical, Linnaean, part of the traveller's research equipment.¹⁶ On the other hand, Bartram affects a rich, colored use of words, like the brilliant plumage of the birds he admires. The *fulgour* and rapidity of the stream of lightning"; *fulgid* sunbeams; *arbutive* hills (covered with shrubbery); "circumambient aromatic groves"; *decumbent* branches.¹⁷ A certain river-bed is a *prolific nidus* for the growth of amphibious insects. He calls the famous Manate Spring a *Nymphaeum*, punning on the *Nymphaea Nelumbo* which lines the banks. When he pushes back the *exfoliated* smoking brands of his campfire, he falls back on certain involved phrases which outdo Dr. Johnson and remind us of Cotton Mather's heavily loaded sentences, such as: "The disorder in my eyes *subverted* the plan of my peregrinations."¹⁸

There is hardly a quotation from any author ancient or modern, in the *Travels*: everything is indirect and allusive,—the property of the writer, stamped with his own seal. On his voyage to Charleston a storm overtakes them: "powerful winds rushing forth from their secret abodes," with the Vergilian Aeolus in the background.¹⁹ The flowers of the *Nymphaea Nelumbo* resemble the Cap of Liberty. Of the curious Snake Bird,²⁰ Bartram remarks: "If this bird had been an inhabitant of the Tiber in Ovid's days, it would have furnished him with a subject for some beautiful and entertaining metamorphoses". A singing Indian is "a young Orpheus"; the bridal chamber of a Creek Indian couple is a "sacred mysterious thalame." A young trader and

his wife, an attractive couple, evoke the inappropriate comment: "What a Venus! What an Adonis!" The public square where the chiefs meet is an *Areopagus*. "Elysiums" are of frequent occurrence. The beautiful Vale of Keowe is "as celebrated as the fields of Pharsalia or the Vale of Tempe."—a surprising juxtaposition of the belligerent and the pacific. When Bartram kills a rattle-snake, his Seminole friends go through a whimsical ritual in order to "appease the *Manes*" of the dead victim. It may also have been this scholarly interest of Bartram's that inspired certain investigations of the ornithologist Alexander Wilson, who is said to have studied the statements of Aristotle and the Elder Pliny that swallows become torpid in trees or caves, or sink into the river mud for their hibernation period.²¹

It is the style, the refraction rather than the reflection of the classics, that explains any impulse to identify the writings of this self-made craftsman in the science of flowers and words. There is a continuous bouquet of what the ancient grammarians called the "Asianic" or full style rather than the simple and condensed Attic. Bartram has left us a distinctive compound of sentiment fresh from the Enlightenment with the classical vehicle for the expression of that sentiment. A recent writer²² has found in the literature about the Noble Savage many a throw-back to the ancient tradition; and the studies in primitivism already mentioned indicate that the journalist's attitude was nothing novel. As a scholar *per se* he is not at ease in the sense applicable to some of the New England writers of "rarities"; but he never carries his enthusiasm to ridiculous conclusions. His Utopia is full of fact though sometimes over-emphasized. There is a Stoic reverence blended with the Christian feeling which is evident throughout his journal; he feels the human-ness of the world of nature, and the need for man's unity therewith. As is the case with so many of his eighteenth century con-

temporaries, the Old World and the New go hand in hand.

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NOTES

¹ This article is an outgrowth of some previous references to Bartram: see R. M. Gummere, *Apollo on Locust Street*, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 56, (1932), pp. 86-7.

² Edited by Mark van Doren, in the Macy-Masius edition, New York, 1923; also in 1940, with introduction by John L. Lowes. References are to the first edition.

³ See John L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, Boston, 1927.

⁴ We possess two travel-journals of the elder Bartram: a record of exploration from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario, 1751, and his *Description of East Florida*, published in London in 1766.

⁵ See N. B. Fagin, *William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1933, esp. pp. 3, 6, 7, 20, 43, 57, 106. E. Earnest, *John and William Bartram*, Univ. of Penna. Press, 1940, esp. pp. 28, 52, 55, 89. Chapter 13 is an excellent study of W. Bartram's ornate style and distinctive philosophy.

⁶ Horace, *Satires*, 1.5.41f.

⁷ Arber and Bradley, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, Edinburgh, 1910. Vol. II, p. 564.

⁸ *Travels*, p. 26. For Byrd's view, somewhat more informally expressed, see *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, ed. J. S. Bassett, N. Y., 1901, pp. 8-10, 21, 100-102.

⁹ See the *Travels*, pp. 357 and 315.

¹⁰ See Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1935. For Bartram's "primitive state of man, peaceable, contended and sociable," see his *Travels*, p. 110.

¹¹ *folia sensibilia, insecta incarcerationia*, p. 19, 373-4.

¹² *ib.*, p. 21. *Mens agitat molem*, — this is almost a literal translation of Vergil, *Aeneid*, 6.726-7.

¹³ See R. M. Gummere, *Classical Precedents in the Writings of James Wilson*, Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol. XXXII, (Nov. 1936-Apr. 1937), pp. 534-5. *Travels*, pp. 389, 388.

¹⁴ See, for example, E. Greenlaw, *Modern English Romanticism*, Studies in Philology, 22.538.

¹⁵ *Travels*, p. 66.

¹⁶ These terms are frequent, of course: see *Travels*, pp. 38, 43, 158, 177, 188, 277, 378, etc.

¹⁷ For these stylistic embellishments, see *Travels*, pp. 39, 54, 64, 66, 195, 196, 274, etc.

¹⁸ *ib.*, pp. 144, 347. The reader may add to these, or subtract if he disagrees on some linguistic ground.

¹⁹ *ib.*, p. 29.

²⁰ *Travels*, p. 126.

²¹ *Life of Alexander Wilson*, by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1834, p. 61. Bartram's *Travels*, p. 234. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 10.34 and 49; Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 8.16. (600 a.) There is dubious evidence for this theory, although White of Selborne took some stock in it. For all the allusions, see *Travels*, pp. 107, 220, 257, 287, 319, 355, 357, 397, etc.

²² See Hoxie N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1928; and Lovejoy and Boas, *op. cit.*, a selection on *The Noble Savage in Antiquity*, esp. Chap. XI, p. 287, on the difference between cultural and chronological primitivism.

We See . . . By The Papers

Edited by John F. Latimer

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

THAT'S THE QUESTION. And now that the hurricane season has passed—according to reliable meteorological information — the matter can be argued on its merits in calm, judicial manner.

Is it unfair to members of the sex whose names happen to be given as alphabetical labels to one of nature's most destructive phenomena? Think of the thousands of Alices and Carols and Ednas and Hazels throughout the country. Is there a single one of them now whose name will not be forever associated with uncontrollable violence, no matter how gentle and peaceful her nature? Will they guard their female offspring from a similar fate by avoiding such names like the plague? But how could they be sure what names might strike the meteorologists' fancy next? No, another solution must be sought.

It is not to be found in such vigorous masculine names as "Algernon, Bertrand, Cyril, Egbert and Florian," argues *The Washington Post and Times-Herald* (Oct. 24, 1954). Nor would it be euphoniously satisfactory—however sensible—to use such prosaic appellations as *First Big Blow*, *Second Big Blow*, ktl (Greek this time instead of the more familiar etc.) The proper answer, according to the *Post*, lies in a reasonable compromise. Female names, of course, are called for. Although the notion that storms have sex may be another example of Ruskin's "pathetic fallacy," the fierce features of a hurricane suggest feminine rather than masculine names. Such names may be found in classical mythology and history:

"We could begin, say, with Aggripina, who . . . murdered her husband, . . . Claudius, and was herself murdered by her son Nero. Then . . . Briseis, who was the cause of the most celebrated blowup in all literature. . . . Then, perhaps, Clodia, wife of Metellus, mistress of Catullus and bad medicine to almost everybody; then the jealous Deianira, who gave the shirt of Nessus to her husband Hercules and so destroyed him; Electra the matricide; Faustina the wicked empress; the incestuous Gaea, who populated the world

with cyclopes and other monsters; Hecate, a witch, . . . " ktl . . .

That ought to take care of a normal crop. For further information or additional names the Weather Bureau may consult this department at any time. Or the *Post* editorial staff, for that matter. In all seriousness, however, we extend our sympathy to the storm sufferers, and hope that the marine and tropical *Furies* have run their course, regardless of names.

ONE RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

RUSSIAN INADEQUACY in the classics has again come home to roost. A few years back, readers may remember, a scientist by the name of Lysenko became a Soviet hero overnight. His theories and "discoveries" in genetics pushed Russia to the forefront in that field. He insisted that he could "shatter . . . the heredity of a plant by placing it in a radically changed environment," and thus change wheat into barley or, in similar fashion, one type of animal into another.

He was not the pioneer in this field, however, as he claimed. According to Dr. L. P. Coonen of the University of Detroit (*Science News Letter*, May 29, 1954, thanks to Mr. Henry D. Ephron of Missoula, Montana), both Aristotle and Theophrastus anticipated his theories and tests. The Greeks, in Dr. Coonen's opinion, deserve credit "for probing and postulating among the riddles of genetics," without the help of reference libraries. In contrast, Lysenko had "mountains of valid data," which he chose to ignore.

Now Lysenko is being ignored by the Russians also. This is one point—a small one to be sure—on which the Russians agree with the West.

ORTHOPHONICS AND GENDER

ON THIS BRIGHT golden morning some months later, the reverberations of the Senate hearings last Spring have long since become still and cool. In motion they were often hot and heavy, offensive to the taste and, to some at least, to the ear. Although the hearings were seldom dull, the light touch was seldom present, but one such instance, incidental by-product though it was, was like a patch of sunshine in a fog.

Lawyers of course pick up some Latin on their way to and at the bar, and occasionally their words and phrases are faintly familiar even to those untutored in law. But legal pronunciation is apparently unstandardized, and speech characteristics of one section can make Latin sound like some

barbaric tongue to those born and bred in another. Repeated variations from his remembered norm—reinforced by an *ad hoc* investigation of the matter—finally got under the old-Roman skin of a Washington editor, and in fine judicial style he proceeded to point out the path of orthophonic rectitude to which some of the aberrant neo-Ciceronians might repair.

His first remarks were directed at a certain legal counsel from Tennessee for his "localized" rendition of the Latin phrase *sub poena*, long since happily joined in anglicized wedlock. "It is our impression, suh,"—no, strike the proleptic Southernism,—"It is our impression," he said, "that this word should be orally rendered 'sub-pee-nah,' though we find that some indulgent lexicographers will tolerate 'sup-peen-yah' and even 'sow-pee-nuh.'" But indulgent he was not to "sup-peen-yah" which seemed to him a "pure localism" that fell "rather harshly upon extra-Tennessee ears". And with what seemed to this writer a fine extra touch, that will raise the spirits of all pinning classicists, he cited a maxim which all men in public life would do well to heed: *Cum fueris alibi, dicito sicut ibi*. Although this defies compliance and translation it may be rendered thus in a defiant couplet:

When you happen othewhere,
Speak as men druther there.

Up to this point our editor was on *terra firmissima*. But editors are sometimes human, and the next disquisition on the term *prima facies*, addressed to the elfinlike counsel from Massachusetts, brought on a mild inquisition that continued intermittently for three weeks—half the length of the hearings of which this was but a sub-minor offshoot. This time it was the editor before the bar—the stern inflexible bar of grammatical justice before which even classical grammarians quail. The charge was *subversive association*—a masculine adjective with a feminine noun.

Now the error was made in all innocence, that is, with no harmful intent. In fact the error can be estimated as only twenty-five percent pure. The arithmetic is easy. Four words were involved. The error involved only one. *Q.E.D.* But in grammar as in law one error can set the wheels of justice grinding, and the tables can be turned in a trice. The editor, who had been tongue-in-cheeking several expert dialecticians on matters orthophonic, and really doing a most delightfully thorough job of it, suddenly found himself on the other side of the bench with the *prima facie* evidence of his guilt in print.

"*Prima facie*. This is the ablative form of *primus facies*." Without pausing to reflect on this horrendous grammatical crime, the editor plunged from one crime into another. He rejected "what is doubtless the standard idiom of the law courts," the pronunciation "pryma facey," because that "makes it sound rather like a lady at her dressing table slapping on one of these foundation creams." He felt sure Cicero didn't pronounce it that way—but not for the same reason surely?—and wondered if we really knew how Cicero had pronounced it. (The answer is Yes.) "But the English lexicographers, at any rate, seem agreed that we should say 'pree-mah fah-she-ay.'" This pronunciation did not seem to bother his readers. (Actually it is the Italian or patristic pronunciation widely used in England and on the Continent.) The correct English pronunciation for Americans is given in Webster's: *pryma* (i as ice) *fay-she-ay*.) They objected to *primus facies*, and several pointed out that the feminine noun *facies* required a feminine adjective, *prima*. One reader recalled this grammatical principle after it had mellowed for sixty-five years!

The editor was backed into a corner and he should have admitted it. But he did what many others have done in more serious circumstances. Instead of verifying the facts for himself in this case, in a Latin grammar or dictionary, he trotted out a secondary authority, a certain English dictionary.

And in so doing he lost considerable face, from which he has recovered after a due dose of that irrevocable remedy, "Tempus fugit."

SIGLA

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"Pindar rendered in English must be couched in elegant language, lofty, trenchant, even reverent; like the *Psalms* of David, the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, and the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, the Odes should be kept well above the level of every day 'American'." (G.)

The Seventh Nemean

IN HONOR of a victory at Nemea, in the Boys' Pentathlon, by Sogenes of Aegina, son of Thearion, in 461 B.C. The divisions of the Ode, according to Mezger, as indicated by Bury, applying the nomenclature of the Terpantric nomos, are as follows:

vv. 1-16	archa	vv. 75-79	metakatatropa
vv. 17-24	katatropa	vv. 80-101	sphragis
vv. 24-74	omphalos	vv. 102-105	exodion

FIRST TRIAD

(Archa)

Strophe 1

Eleithuia,¹ thou who sittest beside the Fates,
Of thoughts profound;² daughter of Hera, of mighty power,³
Hearken! thou who bringest children to birth.⁴
Without thee,⁵ gazed we not upon the light of day;
Nor did we behold the kindly⁶ hour of the shadows.
Without thy grace attained we not unto thy sister,
Hebe,⁷ of the glorious limbs. But we draw not
The breath⁸ of life, all⁹ as one, for ends alike;
Each, to his own fate yoked, is kept apart
From his fellow, by a different lot.
Thanks to thee, the son of Thearion, deemed foremost
For his prowess,¹⁰ Sogenes, is sung among
The victors in the pentathlon.¹¹

¹ a daughter of Hera (Hes. *Theog.* 922) she is the goddess who presides over marriage and the birth of children.

² *bathuphronon*: a fine possessive compound: "of thought profound."

³ *megalosthenes*: of great strength, which is communicable.

⁴ *geneteira*: acc. to Bu. *ad loc.* "not used anywhere else in this sense: mother; usually: daughter."

⁵ *aneu sethen*: not without thee did we behold the light.

⁶ *euphronan*: "the kindly"; a likely euphemism for night. (G.)

⁷ *Heban*: Hebe, a sister of Eleithuia; goddess of youth; characterized by the poss. cpd. *aglaogunon*: having beautiful limbs.

⁸ *anapneomen*: "we draw breath, we are born." (G.)

⁹ *hapantes*: *pantes* "means all, in the sense of plurality; much here typical of Pindar's gnomic manner. *hapantes* denotes unity." (G.)

¹⁰ *aretai kriteis*: "chosen for his valor." (G.)

¹¹ The pentathlon comprised, as its name implies, five feats of athletic prowess; they were: *halma* (the jump), *diskos* (hurling the discus), *akon* (javelin-throw), *dromos* (the run), *pale* (wrestling) and in this order of events.

Antistrophe 1

For he dwelleth in a city loving music¹²
The city of Aeacidae, of clashing lances.¹²
Right fain¹³ are they to favor prowess
Excelling¹⁴ in the strife of the games.
Yea, if one chance to win a trial of skill,
He giveth cause of melody, honey-sweet,¹⁵
To the streams of the Muses; for deeds of valor great,
Bereft of song, have much obscurity.¹⁶
For glorious attainments, we hold a mirror one way only;
If, thanks to Mnemosyne of the brilliant diadem,¹⁷
Such deeds shall find their need of recompense
Amid the sounding streams of song.

¹² Both of these beautiful descriptive compounds are *hapax eiremena* "Love of music and love of war characteristic of ancient warriors; Achilles played on his *kithara*." (G.)

¹³ *ethelo* "is a favorite word of Pindar; he uses *boulomai* only once; it is a word of a lower sphere; 'I fain' is a good rendering for *ethelo*." (G.)

¹⁴ *sumpeiron*: apparently coined by Pindar; it combines both the ideas in *sunonta* and *empeiron*. "conversant with" Bu. seems somewhat weak.

¹⁵ *meliphron*: lit. "honey-hearted"; used by Homer, of sleep, and wine.

¹⁶ Does the mention of the word, *skoton* lead

into the metaphor of the mirror? "Deeds of prowess, if left unsung, are lost in darkness; but we have a mirror in which to reflect them." (G.)

¹⁷ *liparampux*: apparently coined by Pindar for this place; the head-dress of *Mnemosyne* is bright; reflecting; a possessive compound: "she of the brilliant diadem."

(*Katatropa*)

Epode 1

The wise¹⁸ perceive, before it come, the wind
That will blow, the third day after.
Nor are they the losers¹⁹ because of greed for gain.
The rich man and the poor alike approach the bourn²⁰ of death.
The while I fancy that the renown of Odysseus
Hath surpassed his toils—thanks to the charm²¹ of Homer.

¹⁸ one may apply in mind: "mariners".

¹⁹ *biaben*: the best MS reading; so Bo. It is equivalent to *ebiabesan*, and is a gnomic aorist. This appears to be a much better reading than *balon* which Myers seems to have adopted; or than *laben* of D which Bu. accepts, and renders *ad loc.*, with *oud' hupo kerdei*, "not perverted at the beck of gain." This seems rather heavy.

²⁰ *peras* is the reading of Bo. Ch. Pu. Sa. and Tu., while Bu. reads *paros* which he says *ad loc.* "calls up a picture of the rich man and the poor

man standing together in front of death." My. does not make clear which reading he accepts; he renders: "the rich and poor alike fare on their way to death." "Sa. rendering of *peras* as 'bourn' is most satisfactory." (G.)

²¹ *haduepe*: "sweet-sounding"; it agrees with *Homerion*; "the sweet-sounding Homer."

NOTE: "This Epode is a parenthetical passage, in Pindar's gnomic strain, and may have reference to the poet's own elevation of his art and skill." (G.)

SECOND TRIAD

Strophe 2

For, upon his fictions and²² his winged craft
Some prestige resteth; his art²³ seduceth,
Leading us astray by mythic stories.
The vast throng of men indeed possess blind hearts.
For if it had been given to the host²⁴ to know the truth,

(*Omphalos*)

Not, in wrath about the weapons, would the mighty Ajax
Have planted²⁵ in his breast the smooth²⁶ sword-blade;
Ajax—whom,²⁷ bravest in warfare next to Achilles,
To win²⁸ back for fair-haired Menelaus his bride,
Faring on the swift ships, the winds of Zephyros unswerving,²⁹
Wafted to the town of Ilos.

²² Bu. reads '*mphi*. The others read *te* or (*te*), the latter with Hermann which we accept.

²³ *sophia* here signifies "skill in poetry", "art"; not "wisdom".

²⁴ Bu. reads *etan* following Bergk. for the MSS: *ean*. The emendation of Boeckh, *he tan* is accepted by the other editors. The reflexive: *he*, refers to the crowd or host of men present in the Homeric scene, hence we render: "the host". Bu. takes *etan* with *aletheian*, "assured truth" which seems pleonastic.

²⁵ Ajax fell upon his sword "fixed" in the

ground. (cf. Soph. Ajax 828); hence *epaxe* is used appropriately.

²⁶ *leuron*. This adjective signifies usually "smooth" in the sense of "level"; here it means "polished".

²⁷ *hon*, referring to Ajax, is the object of *poreusan*. "This verb is often practically causative in the active, meaning 'to make to go'; hence: 'to convey'" (G.)

²⁸ *komisai* Infinitive of purpose or end.

²⁹ *euthupnoos*: Pindaric coinage; "blowing directly", without deviation.

Antistrophe 2

Now the wave of Hades floweth over all alike;
It falleth equally upon this one unaware,³⁰
And upon another who expecteth³⁰ it.
Honor attaineth to those whose fair renown³¹
A God enhanceth—e'en to the warrior dead;³²

For they have journeyed to the navel of broad-bosomed³³ Earth.
And so, beneath the Pythian floors,³⁴ Neoptolemos reposeth,
After having sacked the town of Priam—
Where also toiled the Danaoi.—Now he,
On sailing homeward, failed to make the isle
Of Skyros. Driven³⁵ from their course,
They came to harbor at Ephyra.³⁶

³⁰ accepting the interpretation of Bu. and Pu. for: *adoketon* and *dokeonta*.

³¹ *habron* "is applied to glory in war, or in the games". (Bu.) Cf. *Isth.* I 50; *O. V.* 7.

³² rendering *boathoon*, proclaimed; reading of Bo. Bu. Sa. Tu. while Pu. reads *boathoon* and Ch. reads: *biai thanen*, which would appear to be redundant with *tethnakoton*.

³³ *eurukolpou*, Pindaric coinage.

³⁴ *dapedon* is the floor of the alsos — the ground of a sacred enclosure.

³⁵ variants: Bu. *plagantes*; Ch. *planetes*; (both these placed after *Ephuran*. Bo. Pu. Sa. Tu. read *plachthentes d'eis Euphuran hikonto*.)

³⁶ Town in Ep'rus, capitol of Thesprotia (old Molossia).

NOTE: "Neoptolemos is not nearly so attractive as his father, Achilles." (G.)

Epode 2

And in Molossia, for a space, he reigned as King;
Howbeit, his race retained this appanage,³⁷ all time to come.
Now, on a day, he went to consult the God, Apollo;
And therewith he took choice first-fruits of the spoils
From Iliion. At Delphi, then, he chanced³⁸ to be
In a quarrel over flesh of victims slain—
And a certain man,³⁹ in anger, smote him with a sword.⁴⁰

³⁷ *geras*: "prerogative". His descendants were Kings in Molossia thereafter." (Bu.)

³⁸ *antituchont'*.

³⁹ Machaereus, a priest. (Bu.)

⁴⁰ "A sad fate, but eternal memory, which Pindar wishes to impress upon the mind of Sogenes." (G.)

THIRD TRIAD

Strophe 3

Grieved⁴¹ beyond measure⁴² were his Delphian hosts;⁴³
But he his destiny had fulfilled,
For it was fated that within that ancient precinct,
A prince of the Aiakidai for all time, thereafter,
Should rest anear the well-walled fane of the God;
There to dwell and lawfully to preside⁴⁴ o'er solemn pomp
Of heroes, with plenteous sacrifice attendant.
For him, to render justice loyal, three words will serve:
No lying⁴⁵ witness is it who presideth over deeds of valor,
O, Aegina, but one of thy descendants and of Zeus.
Bold am I this word to utter:

NOTE: The reading of this strophe follows the text as punctuated by Bo. Pu. and Tu. We find that Bu. places a period after *dikan* and again after *epistatei*. Sa. follows Bu. Ch. reads the same. The rendering here given follows most closely that of Pu.

⁴¹ *barunthen* for *ebarunthesan*.

⁴² *perissa*.

⁴³ *xenagetai* occurs only here.

⁴⁴ *themiskopon* does not occur elsewhere.

⁴⁵ *pseudis*: not found elsewhere; contemptuous, after the fashion of *gastriis*. The strophe is replete with Pindar's coinages.

NOTE: "These two strophes, with their antistrophes and epodes (the Second and Third Triads) each come to a full close; this shows a return to Pindar's earlier manner." (G.)

Antistrophe 3

Thanks to their brilliant deeds of prowess,
A princely road⁴⁶ of praises, leading out from home
Is theirs. And yet in every task,
A sweet charm,⁴⁷ hath repose; yea, even honey
Hath surfeit, and the delightful flowers of Aphrodite.⁴⁸

By nature do we differ each from other,
 Diverse lots obtaining—one this; another that;
 Nor is it given for any man to win the prize⁴⁹
 Of happiness complete; nor have I to tell
 To whom, abidingly,⁵⁰ Fate hath proffered this award.⁵¹
 Yet, to thee, Thearion, she giveth fitting measure⁵²
 Of prosperity.

NOTE: The six editors agree on the reading of this antistrophe.

⁴⁹ *kurian hodon*: "The deeds of the A'akidai are a high-road of praise." (G.)

⁴⁷ "in every task the repose that comes, is sweet." (G.)

⁴⁸ "a commonplace proverb employed here figuratively." (G.)

⁴⁰ "typical here of Pindar's didactic, or gnomie mood." (G.)

⁵⁰ *empedon*: this word has many meanings: on the ground; firmly set; steadfast, sure and certain; lasting; continual; without fail; of a surety.

⁵¹ *telos*: boon, reward, goal, "le bonheur total." (Pu.)

⁵² *kairon*: "due measure" "equivalent to *meson*." (Bu.)

Epode 3

To thee, endowed with boldness for adventures fair;
 Nor doth she diminish⁵³ the wisdom⁵⁴ of thy spirit.
 Thy guest-friend, I, thrusting far off the darkling shade
 Of slander; and, like streams of water,⁵⁵ bringing to a hero,
 So beloved, true⁵⁶ glory—his praises shall I sing.
 'Tis fitting that the good receive such recompense.⁵⁷

⁵³ *apoblaptei*: "impairs", Sa. "disables and expels". (Bu.)

⁵⁴ Ch. reads *sunesis* following B. D., a more difficult reading than *sunesis* accepted by the other five editors.

⁵⁵ streams of water as clear reflectors of his fame.

⁵⁶ *etetumon*: intrinsically true; veritable; genuine.

⁵⁷ "c'est la récompense qui convient aux hommes de bien." (Pu.)

NOTE: "The third strophe, antistrophe and epode form a unit." (G.)

FOURTH TRIAD

Strophe 4

Now if an Achaean man be nigh.—one who dwelleth
 Above the Ionian sea,⁵⁸ he shall not blame me.
 I have confidence in my post as proxenos,⁵⁹
 And 'mongst my fellow-townsmen, with clear gaze⁶⁰
 I glance about—not having over-stepped the mark,⁶¹
 But having thrust aside all violence before my feet.
 May the rest of time flow on for me with kindly calm.
 Let anyone declare, who knoweth me,⁶² if ever I come
 Breathing a song of blame, striking a jarring note.⁶³
 Sogenes, sprung from the clan of the Euxenids,
 I swear that, never overstepping the line,⁶⁴ have I sent forth
 Swift speech, as it were a javelin⁶⁵ tipped with bronze,

NOTE: The six editors agree, in the main, on the readings of this strophe. Bu. however, reads *hupomnuo* (v. 70) where all the others show *apomnuo*. Ch. retains the MS reading *an erei* (v. 68) but Bo. Sa. Pu. and Tu. all accept, and credit Gildersleeve's emendation: *anerei*. Bu. also reads thus, without reference to G., possibly having reached the same decision independently.

⁵⁸ The Achaeans of the Ionian Sea were descendants of companions of Neoptolemos who, after having fought in his company at Troy, were established in the region of Ephyra in Molossia. (v Pu. op. cit. p. 100, n.)

⁵⁹ It appears that Pindar had received from the Epirates, the honorary title of *proxenos*.

⁶⁰ *derkomai lampron*: I look with the clear gaze of a free soul. *lampron*: "accusative of the inner object." (G.)

⁶¹ *huperbalon*: equivalent to *huperbalon metron*, "exceeding the work."

⁶² *mathon anerei*: having learned, he shall proclaim.

⁶³ *par melos*: that is, against the music, discordant.

⁶⁴ *me terna probas*: again, the idea of not overstepping the due bound; the *me* is "restrictive." (G.)

⁶⁵ *akonthe' hote* . . . hurling the javelin, apparently in the poet's mind as one of the events of the pentathlon; thus he likens his swift tongue to the bronze-tipped weapon.

Antistrophe 4

Which freed⁶⁶ from the wrestling⁶⁷ thy sturdy neck,⁶⁸ as
yet unsweated,⁶⁹
Ere ever thy limbs fell beneath the burning Sun.

(Meta Katatropa)

If toil were there, joy more abundant followed thereupon.⁷⁰
Let be.⁷¹ To him who wins, a debt of praise!⁷²
If borne aloft too high, I shouted with undue elation,
Yet am I none too rude as to with-hold it.
To twine the flowers in coronals—'twere an easy thing to do.
Sound a prelude!⁷³ The Muse, in faith, welds gold
And gleaming ivory in one; and the pale lilies
Of the foam,⁷⁴ which she hath plucked beneath the dewy main.

⁶⁶ Readings: Bu. and Ch. ek s' epempsen. Bo. Sa. and Tu. exepempsen Pu. exepempsas. The reading: exepempsen is here accepted. The thought is: that he who won the javelin-throw had already gained the prize in the pentathlon—having presumably won also the jump and the discus—thus winning three out of the five contests. Hence, he was freed, released, from participating in the remaining two events: the run and the wrestling. Sogenes' victory in the javelin-throw was decisive; the poet then says: "my swift tongue, like the bronze-tipped javelin, set free" etc.

⁶⁷ palaimaton: genitive of separation. (G.)

⁶⁸ zuchena kai sthenos: hendiadys. (G.)

⁶⁹ adiantan: equivalent to anidroti. lit. "unwet" fr. diaino.

⁷⁰ Possibly Sogenes did enter the wrestling after

all. Note Pindar's fine gnomie manner, to the end of the antistrophe.

⁷¹ ea me: permit me, bear with me; apologetic.

⁷² the debt of praise. charin is the object of katathemen.

⁷³ Pindar to himself: encouraging. anabaleo "strike a new chord of joy." (G.)

⁷⁴ leirion anthemion: "foam flower", the white coral. The closing two verses of the antistrophe form one of Pindar's beautiful pictures. Pu. translates—with the usual matchless French taste: "La Muse, elle, assemble l'or avec l'ivoire blanc et la fleur-du-lys qu'elle a soustraite à la rosée marine." (Pu. op. cit. p. 100.)

NOTE: Strophe 4 and Antistrophe 4 form a unit, uninterrupted, and together they close the metakatatropa.

(Sphragis)

Epode 4

Mindful ever of Zeus,⁷⁵ a far-famed strain⁷⁶ of hymns
For⁷⁷ Nemea, do thou raise,⁷⁸ in quiet melody.⁷⁹
The King of Gods 'tis fitting that, upon their soil,⁸⁰
We celebrate with gentle tone; for they relate
How, here, by virtue of a mortal mother,⁸¹
Aiakos he begat.

⁷⁵ In whose honor the Nemean Games were established and celebrated.

⁷⁶ poluphaton throon: harmonious singing heard afar.

⁷⁷ amph "in the sense of 'in connection with'." (G.)

⁷⁸ donet: literally, "shake", "set in motion."

⁷⁹ hasunai and hameraí, with opi, refer to the more quiet music of the lyre, in contrast with the shrill pipes.

⁸⁰ dapedon: "floor" possibly is more appropri-

ate, but "soil" here leads better into the thought of Nemea as famed ground. Ch. reads gapedon, Dor. for gépedon a plot of ground. We read with Ch.

⁸¹ matrodokos: a Pindaric coinage. Literally: "received by the mother", a dependent compound, from meter and dechomai. Pu. renders: "dans le sein de sa mère."

NOTE: The fourth Epode leads directly—in thought—into the fifth Strophe.

FIFTH TRIAD

Strophe 5

Ruler of cities for his own⁸² illustrious clan,
And, O Herakles, to be thine own beloved friend⁸³ and brother.
Now if a man enjoy fruition aught of man,
We should say that neighbor loving neighbor
With devoted heart, is joy all else surpassing.⁸⁴
If, meanwhile, a God should also offer this good fortune,⁸⁵

Relying on thee⁸⁶ who quelled the Giants, happily would Sogenes,
Cherishing a heart of devotion to his sire,
Dwell beside the rich and hallowed roadway of his forebears.

NOTE: The Sphragis carries over directly, continuing into the fifth Strophe.

⁸² Bo. Ch. Pu. and Sa. read *heai*. Bu. has *etai* which he attempts to defend at length. Tu. prefers *emai* B.D. We prefer *heai*.

⁸³ Variants: Bo. *propraon'* *emen*. Sa. *propreon'* *emen*. Bu. Ch. *propreona men*, codd. Tu. *propreon'* *emmen*, his own correction. Pu. *propraona* with *xeion* immediately following. We read with Bo.

⁸⁴ In Pindar's gnomic and didactic manner, reminiscent of Hesiod, W. and D. 346.

⁸⁵ *auto*: their principle, truth, or sentiment just uttered.

⁸⁶ *en tin k' etheloi*: he would fain trust in thee. Pu. renders neatly: "*c'est auprès de toi*."

NOTE: Bo. Bu. and Pu. have a full stop at the end of the strophe. Ch. Sa. and Tu. punctuate with a colon, thus carrying over into the antistrophe following.

Antistrophe 5

Since, as it were,⁸⁷ within the yokes of four-horsed chariots,
He hath his home within thy sacred precincts,⁸⁸
On either hand, as forth he fareth.
O blessed one,⁸⁹ thee it beseemeth the spouse of Hera⁹⁰
To persuade, and the maiden with the eyes of gray,⁹¹
And thou art able⁹²—on mortals, valiant aid
Against distressing toils, full often⁹³ to bestow.⁹⁴
And oh! mayest thou, for these twain—Thearion and Sogenes—
Having knit⁹⁵ a steadfast⁹⁶ life for youth and happy age,
Entwine it⁹⁷ prosperous to the end. And may
Their children's children⁹⁸ ever enjoy the boon
That now is present, and that which is to be hereafter.

⁸⁷ *hoth'* equivalent to *hoste*. cod. B. shows *hosth'*.

⁸⁸ The house of Thearion, father of Sogenes, was situated between two sanctuaries of Herakles, as the pole of a chariot is between the arms of the yoke. One of Pindar's concise similes. Bury's long note (*ad loc.*) referring to "Mr. Fennell's" theories, may be regarded as negligible.

⁸⁹ Herakles. The epithet: *o makar* reminds one of Sanskrit invocations of deities. Herakles is *alexikakos*.

⁹⁰ The codd. read *Heran*. Corrected to *Heras* by Bothe.

⁹¹ *glaukopida*: literally: "having the eyes of an owl." The owl is Athena's bird.

⁹² parenthetical.

⁹³ *thama*.

⁹⁴ *didomen*, like *peithemen*, dependent on *epoiken*.

⁹⁵ *harmosais*: aor. act. part. nom. masc. sing.

⁹⁶ *empedosthenea*, found only here.

⁹⁷ *diaplekois*: optative of wish.

⁹⁸ Puech: "*que les enfants de leurs enfants servent toujours*." This would appear to be a more fitting close to so gracious a poem, than the weaker ending with a current proverb: *Dios Korinthos*, v. 105. It is the opinion of the present editor that the Ode properly closes with the first verse of Epode 5. There is no punctuation at the end of the antistrophe.

(Exodion)

Epode 5

But never shall my heart declare, that, with offensive⁹⁹ words,
I dragged the name of Neoptolemos in the dust.
The same things thrice or four times over to repeat,
Argues emptiness of wit, like one to children babbling:¹⁰⁰
"Corinthos is the son of Zeus."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *atropoisi*: "that cannot be turned aside."

¹⁰⁰ *mapsulakas*: a coinage of Pindar's for this place. Bu. regards it as acc. plu., subj. of *ampolein*. Sa. takes it as gen. sing. fem.: "like that of a vain babbling." This interpretation appears preferable.

¹⁰¹ Or, "city of Zeus", according to Sa. Both My. and Pu. render "son of Zeus", which is here accepted, although Sa. in n. *ad loc.* shows that his interpretation is based on the Schol. ast. Prob-

ably best taken as a proverbial equivalent for a vain and wearisome repetition.

NOTE: "The last two Triads are welded together." (G.)

"Pindar moves gracefully among finely fluted columns of cream-colored Pentelic marble, capped with Ionic volutes; he is uncongenial with utilitarian, slab-like structures, fabricated from glass and iron."

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 124 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

The Corcyraean-Corinthian Speeches In Thucydides I¹

FEW PORTIONS of the Corcyraean address (32.6) may be condemned as rhetoric, pure and simple. Those passages which appear manifestly so, often conceal effective and skillful intimations, all the more effective and skillful because concealed. The envoys' *exordium* seems flowery and superfluous, an over-extended confession of mistaken policy; yet often confession fosters an aura of intimate frankness conducive to confidence. Furthermore, this device anticipates hostile Corinthian criticism; and criticism anticipated is to a great degree rendered ineffective.

Later emphasis on the moral *per se* (33.1-2) is surely empty and to a degree hypocritical when one considers the recent history of Corcyra. Yet the moral is not intended to stand *per se* but rather to serve as a pleasing introduction to the concrete and effective factor, the fleet. First presented here in a positive fashion (an alliance will aid the just and gain important gratitude), the proposal is soon (35.4) balanced by a negative recital of the dangers inherent in Athenian reluctance. If one assumes that the Thucydidean speeches are suitable for delivery, such antithesis would not fail to captivate the ear of the cultivated audience and to win their amiable admiration (cf. D.S.13.53).

Matters traversed *in silentio* include all the details of the embarrassing Epidamnian affair, of which no mention is made. Also the remark (33.2) emphasizing the fortunate opportunity afforded by a Corcyraean alliance "without dangers and expense" con-

veniently neglects the near certainty that such an alliance may precipitate a struggle with the Peloponnesus fraught with great peril and cost.

The chief arguments are powerful and effectively presented. The war is inevitable, assert the ambassadors. This is indeed the crux of their plea, "the essential point" as Gomme notes; for "if war with the Peloponnesians could be avoided, it would clearly be rash for the Athenians to interfere in the Adriatic." Perhaps, however, this argument did not appeal solely to Athenian fear, a deep-rooted concern for self-preservation. Athens was at an apex of power. She was the mistress of 300 triremes, 6000 talents, and a sea-connected fortress whose walls were 25 miles in length. She commanded the sea and was leader of a vast empire (but cf. the remarks of Pericles ap. Thuc. 1.143.5). A grand optimism pervaded the place (cf. Plu. Nic. 12.1-2). In short, the Corcyraean intimation of war was perhaps calculated to appeal more to the ambitions of the *ekklesia* than to their fears. Many almost wanted war, and an alliance with Corcyra appeared to offer a swifter and more decisive victory.² At any rate they simply could not let the Corcyraean fleet go to Corinth; and the speakers promptly remind their hearers of their island's vast fleet, second only to Athens'. We conquered the Corinthian fleet single-handed, they declare, with the intimation that in alliance with Corinth they might bestow a similar defeat upon the Athenians.

The masterful peroration (36) con-

centrates the important arguments into an effective conclusion. As any legal and moral objections to the alliance in relation to the truce have been earlier allayed, only brief reference is made to this matter. Swift progression is developed from such abstract consideration to the immediate and personal, "you are deliberating upon Athenian interests, not Corcyraean." A reminder of the certainty of war appeals to patriotism, ambition, and fear. The geographical position of Corcyra is of especial interest.³ Finally the island's fleet is again noted.

Actually the Corcyraeans had effectively aroused Athenian attention. Corcyra meant the difference, they thought, between an immediate victory and a protracted campaign with certain impoverishment and perhaps ultimate defeat. Clever mention of Spartan jealousy had reminded the gathering of the irritating presence of their detested rival, a constant thorn.

In contrast, the Corinthian speech (37-43) resounds with bombast and fury but there is little fact. The Corcyraeans are slandered. Fact is distorted and exaggerated to an incredible extent. The islanders are alleged only to receive neighbors driven by necessity into their ports, rarely themselves frequenting foreign harbors. The ridiculous intimation is that the second navy in Greece had no motivation for its formation. The islanders' very integrity is questioned (37.5). A recital of Corinthian-Corcyraean relations is developed, an excursus of a purely domestic nature and having at best a strained relevance to the matters under discussion. This culminates in a description of the siege of Epidamnus. Athens, which had usurped an empire from the Delian League and was capable of playing her later part in the Melos affair, must have been little disturbed at seeing her own policy exemplified in Corcyra.

In regard to the treaty the Corinthians can only weakly argue that although the Athenians might legally conclude a Corcyraean alliance, yet by so

doing they would violate the spirit of the truce. This is highly subjective at best.

The appeal to gratitude as founded upon the Samos incident is a weak analogy. Any Samos-Corcyra parallel is, as Marchant comments, "more verbal than real." Corcyra was a colony under no obligation whatsoever to the metropolis. Samos in 440 staged an overt revolt from the Athenian alliance. The reminder of naval aid during the Aeginetan War perhaps had some effect. Yet the Corinthians spoke of past favors while the Corcyraeans intimated future benefits.

A moral exhortation to requite like with like concludes the discourse on a philosophic note, rather weak in this context. It ought also to be noted that open war is never threatened by the Corinthians in case of any Athenian-Corcyraean alliance; "hostility" is merely intimated. How different is this from the spirited climax of the insular envoys!

The Corinthians anticipated their failure. "Don't think that one course is just in speech, another advantageous in war," they warned. Whereas Corinth appealed to national and political morality, Corcyra appealed to civic pride and to national well-being. The unanimity of the moment inclined the *ekklesia* to the former; but, by the second day, sane and practical discussion had produced the only reasonable decision (1.44).

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NOTES

¹ Prof. S. Dow and Dr. M. H. Chambers, Jr. have read what follows. An appreciative essay, this paper does not intend to masquerade as a scholarly monograph. It is an attempt to analyze the arguments advanced by the contending speakers in an effort to evaluate the reasonableness of the final decision.

² This was only a vain hope; Corcyra became neutral in 427 (Thuc. 3.70sq.).

³ Some have considered this a later insertion of Thuc. after he had treated the Sicilian expedition; but quite the contrary seems plausible. Corcyra never blocked any ships. So this is more likely to have been an argument in 432 than in 415 or later. Moreover, such an observation is not beyond the power of an intelligent man in 432; and therefore ought not to arouse suspicion of lateness.

Seneca on Theology

IN THE MIND of Seneca is firmly fixed the concept of God, whose cause he fervently pleads.¹ He shows that the mighty and marvelous structure of the universe cannot endure and sustain itself without a supreme ruler to guide and preserve it.² Human instinct, he argues, has everywhere pointed to this cardinal truth.³ A little thought upon the matter shows us that there must be a power inherent in the world to move it as the soul can move the body.⁴

Seneca believed that this supreme power is the creator of all,⁵ that he is one God appearing under many names. In the *Dialogus Ad Helviam Matrem* (83) he writes:

Quisquis formator universi fuit sive ille deus est potens omnium, sive incorporealis ratio ingentium operum artifex, sive divinus spiritus per omnia maxima ac minima aequali intentione diffusus, sive fatum et immutabilis casarum inter se cohaerentium series.

Sometimes he speaks of nature, fate, and reason as identical with God himself.⁶

God is to Seneca the great reality, however human speech may describe him. He is the impalpable, primary, and creative force which underlies all the phenomena of physical nature and human life.⁷

Seneca, like the Stoics, is a pantheist. He believes that the world is identified with deity—the efficient cause of the universe, described by different names, which pervades the vast mass of inert matter.⁸ Matter and power are not, as with Aristotle, things radically different though united from all eternity. On the contrary, the creative force is interfused in rude matter; it is in itself something material; it is identical with ether, or breath, or the fire element.⁹ According to Stoic principles, all things proceed from primary fire or God and

to him they all will return at last, when each cycle of time has run its course and the old emanations are absorbed into the source of life, and the formation of a new world begins afresh.¹⁰ To this process Seneca refers when he writes:

Quicquid est, non erit, nec peribit sed resolvetur . . . fortius finem sui suorumque [mens] pateretur, si speraret, ut omnia illa, sic vitam mortemque per vices ire et composita dissolvi, dissoluta componi, in hoc opere aeternam artem cuncta temperantis dei verti.¹¹

God may be alike conceived as the primary matter and the primary power that shapes the derivative materials of which all things are made. He is the ubiquitous force, the rational principle that penetrates everything, is present everywhere.

Seneca's philosophy embraces also a pantheism of the internal spirit—every soul is of divine origin a part of and emanation from God.¹² Man possesses a rational nature common in origin with the reason that creates and rules the cosmos.¹³ As God is the hidden force in all nature making for unity, so he is the secret power within us making for virtue.

Miraris hominem ad deos ire? Deus ad homines venit, immo quod est propius, in homines venit; nulla sine deo mens bona est. Semina in corporibus humanis divina dispersa sunt, quae si bonus cultor excipit, similia origini prodeunt et paria iis, ex quibus orta sunt, surgunt; si malus, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris necat ac deinde creat purgamenta pro frugibus.¹⁴

Hence God is a spiritual and moral being, the source of all righteousness, the divine spark within us. He is a witness of our deeds, who is omnipresent, omniscient, and invisible.¹⁵ He is our protector, our guide, whose spirit resides in our hearts.

Consequently man has no need of prayer and worship. God, Seneca proclaims, dwells not in temples of wood or stone but in the shrine of the heart.¹⁶ He has no delight in the blood of victims.¹⁷ He does not seek the ministrations of human hands. Far from it, he himself does service to mankind, everywhere and to all he is at hand to help.¹⁸

Our duty towards the gods is to believe in them, to acknowledge their greatness and benevolence, to submit to them as the creators and rulers of the universe.¹⁹ We should not light lamps in their honor on Sabbath days or throng the doors of their temples to offer morning salutation; we should not bring Jove a towel or Juno a mirror.²⁰ Our service to them is to make ourselves like unto them; he who would win their favor must be a good man.²¹

The true worship of God, therefore, is not in formal prayer and sacrifice, but in striving to know and imitate his infinite benevolence and wisdom. It is only through one's own personal effort that he can become more virtuous. By developing the divine seeds within him, man can bring his reason to perfection and so become God's equal.²²

Seneca advocates no other form of worship than the study of philosophy which makes for virtue. To him, philosophy is the sole guide of life. He can conceive of no other hope nor of any other teachings than those which she can bestow upon humanity. "Hoc enim est, quod mihi philosophia promittit, ut parem deo faciat."²³

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NOTES

¹ *De Prov.* 1.1: *causam deorum agam*. In Seneca deus and dei are used interchangeably. God is the supreme power that animates the universe and the gods are different portions of his activity.

² *Ibid.*, 2: *Supervacuum est in praesentia ostendere non sine aliquo custode tantum opus stare*. See also my "The Extent and Range of the Ideas in Seneca's Philosophy," (Doctor's dissertation, U. of N. Car., to be published). Chapter II. D.1.a.6. Later references in parentheses are to this chapter.

³ *Ep.* 117.6: *nec ulla gens usquam est adeo extra leges moresque proiecta, ut non aliquos deos credat*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.24: *Quem in hoc mundo locum deus obtinet, hunc in homine animus*. (D.1.a.18.)

⁵ (D.1.a.7.)

⁶ *De Benef.* 4.8.2: *Ergo nihil agis, ingratis mortalium, qui te negas deo debere, sed naturae: quia nec natura sine deo est nec deus sine natura: sed idem est utrumque, [nec] distat officio: ibid.*, 7.1: *Quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta?* *Ep.* 65.12: *Quaerimus, quid sit causa? Ratio scilicet faciens, id est Deus: De Benef.* 4.7.2: *Hunc eundem et Fatum si dixeris, namentieris: nam cum fatum nihil aliud sit, quam series implexa causarum, ille est prima omnium causa, ex qua ceterae pendunt*. (D.1.a.2.)

⁷ *De Benef.* 4.7.2: *Quaecumque voles, illi nomina proprie aptabis vim aliquam effectumque caelestium rerum continentia: tot appellationes eius possunt esse, quot munera*.

⁸ *Ep.* 65.2: *Dicunt, ut scis, Stoici nostri deus esse in rerum natura, ex quibus omnia flant, causam et materiam. Materia inest iners, re ad omnia parata, cessatura, si nemo moveat. Causa autem, id est ratio, materiam format et quocumque vult versat, ex illa varia opera producit. Esse ergo debet, unde fiat aliquid, deinde a quo fiat. Hoc causa est, illud materia*. (D.1.a.14.)

⁹ E. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, translated from the German by O. F. Reichel, new ed. (London, 1892), 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹¹ *Ep.* 71.14. (D.1.a.12.)

¹² *Ad Helv.* 6.7: *Non est [mens] ex terreno et gravi concreta corpore, ex illo caelesti spiritus descendit; Ep.* 92.30: *Quid est autem cur non existimes in eo divini aliquid existere, qui de pars est? Totum hoc, quo continemur, et unum est et deus; et socii sumus eius et membra*. (D.1.a.16.)

¹³ *Ep.* LXVI.12: *Ratio autem nihil aliud est quam in corpus humanum pars divini spiritus mensa*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.16. Cf. *ibid.*, 41.1-2: *Sacer inter nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos. Hic prout a nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat. Bonus vero vir sine deo nemo est; a potest aliquis supra fortunam nisi ab illo adiutus exurgere? Ille dat consilia magnifica et erecta. In unoquoque virorum bonorum 'quis deus incerta est, habitat deus.'* In *Epistle* 31.11 Seneca calls the upright, good, and great soul a God dwelling as a guest in a human body.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.1: *Quid enim prodest ab homine aliquid esse secretum: Nihil deo clusum est. ibid.*, 10.5: *sic vive cum hominibus, tamquam deus videat; sic loquere cum deo, tamquam homines audiant*. (D.1.a.21.)

¹⁶ *Ep.* 41.1: *Non sunt ad caelum elevandas manus nec exorandus aedituus, ut nos ad aures simulacri, quasi magis exaudiri possimus, admittat; prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. ibid.*, 31.5: *Quid votis opus est? Fac te ipse felicem*. (D.3.a.9 and D.3.b.1.)

¹⁷ *De Benef.* 1.6.3: *Ne in victimis quidem deorum est honor*.

¹⁸ *Ep.* 95.47: *Non quaerit ministros Deus. Quidni? Ipso humano generi ministrat ubique et omnibus praesto est. On the beneficent nature of God cf. De Ira 2.27.1: di immortales qui ne volunt obesse nec possunt; natura enim illis mitis et placida est. Ep.* 95.49: *Quae causa est dis bene faciendi? Natura. Errat, si quis illos putat nocere nolle: non possunt. De Benef.* 7.31.4: *di aequali tenore bona sua per gentes populosque distribuunt; unam potentiam, prodesse, sortiti*. (D.1.a.32.)

¹⁹ *Ep.* 95.50: *Primus est deorum cultus deos credere; deinde reddere illis maiestatem suam, reddere bonitatem, sine qua nulla maiestas est. Scire illos esse qui praesident mundo*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50: *Vis deos propitiare? Bonus estis. Satis illos coluit, quisquis imitatus est*. (D.3.b.5.)

²¹ *Ep.* 59.14: [*Sapiens*] *cum dis ex pari vivit*. (G.11.c.10.11.12.)

²² *Ep.* 48.11. For complete references to philosophy see A.1.

Plato's *Hippias Major*

(This article is basically the same as a paper read before the Fifth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, April 24-26, 1952.)

THE FREQUENT FAILURE of Plato's dialogues to arrive at a definite conclusion expressed in a few sentences presents problems to the uninitiated. Most people would prefer a concise definition which they could memorize and quote with an air of sophistication. The more advanced student, however, should welcome the challenge Plato presents and should attempt to formulate his own philosophy by examining Plato's argument step by step and even by reading between the lines. Plato, to be sure, is never belittling the reader. Although he does at times portray in a humorous vein the characteristics of Socrates' opponents, Plato wishes the reader to take the discussion seriously and to accept the challenge of an exercise in mental gymnastic. The *Hippias Major* presents a good example of how we should examine Plato's dialogues step by step and attempt to formulate our own concepts, which may or may not agree with those of Plato; for he was more interested in stimulating thought than in dictating set ideas.

Hippias of Elis boasts of his ability to perform official functions for his city-state and at the same time to deliver private lectures for remuneration. By combining both endeavors he and the other sophists, so he assumes, have advanced far above their predecessors, whom we call the pre-Socratic philosophers. Hippias, moreover, claims to have received more money from his private lectures than any other two sophists combined. He boasts of a speech he has prepared on noble, honorable and beautiful pursuits, portraying Nestor giving advice to Neoptolemus.

When Socrates invites Hippias to define beauty, a task which the latter re-

gards as exceedingly simple, his various unsuccessful attempts indicate that the task is more challenging than he realized. His first definition is that beauty is a beautiful woman. The second attempt defines beauty as gold, for gold makes everything appear beautiful. His third definition is that beauty is the enjoyment of wealth, health, honor, old age and suitable burial by the children.

We should observe that he is merely giving examples of what is beautiful to him and that his concepts of beauty are essentially on the level of materialism. It is no wonder then that his attempts fail under the scrutiny of Socrates.

After these definitions prove futile, he is ready to give up. Socrates then suggests several additional definitions of beauty: beauty might be appropriateness; it might be the useful; it might be the beneficial; and finally beauty might be the pleasures which come through the eye and the ear. Hippias is eager to accept each of these suggestions until Socrates points out the shortcomings of each to his satisfaction. The dialogue ends with Hippias advising Socrates to give up such worthless speculation and Socrates confessing that he is compelled inwardly to search for what he does not know.

Socrates' suggestions, although far superior to those of Hippias, also prove to be unsuccessful in the dialogue, because they are beyond the ken of Hippias, who is unable either to give any intelligent criticism or to evaluate the criticism which Socrates supplies to his own suggestions. Socrates' suggestions, plus his own criticism, however, present a challenge to the reader, who should attempt to evaluate the argument and to separate the chaff from the wheat.

We must realize that the term beauty, or to *kalon*, involves a verbal ambiguity. *Kalon* may be translated as

beautiful, noble, honorable or fine. Its antonym, *aischron*, may be rendered in English as ugly or shameful. Plato was well aware of the ambiguity. In the *Gorgias* (477a-481b) he states that beauty may be judged on the basis of pleasure or utility or a combination of both. The *Symposium*, furthermore, points out that beauty may also be a means of attaining the good (201d-212c). In brief, to *kalon* involves the concept of beauty on three standards: 1) the utilitarian; 2) the aesthetic; and 3) the moral. Since Hippias is unable to make the necessary distinctions, Socrates confuses him by shifting from one standard to the other. After Hippias has defined beauty as a beautiful woman and then as gold—on the standard of the aesthetic—Socrates confuses him by shifting the standard to the utilitarian, with the example of the wooden ladle as superior to a golden ladle for preparing broth. We must be aware of the three standards and be able to make the proper distinctions accordingly. Hippias' failure to distinguish properly is one reason the dialogue ends without any apparent definite conclusion.

Another oversight of Hippias is his confusion of appearance and essence. He accepts Socrates' suggestion that beauty might be appropriateness and affirms that appropriateness makes objects *appear* beautiful rather than *be* beautiful. It is easy then for Socrates to make out of appropriateness a type of deceit, for according to Hippias' admission appropriateness makes objects appear more beautiful than they are. We should be cautious in accepting the argument at its face value. We should analyze the statements and ask ourselves: "May not an object *appear* beautiful and at the same time *be* beautiful? Does not appropriateness concern the essence of objects as well as their appearance? Should appropriateness be judged on the standard of the utilitarian, which involves essence, or of the aesthetic, which implies appearance?" We may note that if appropriateness is regarded as that

which makes objects *be* beautiful, appropriateness would contain a fair clue to the definition of beauty on the level of the utilitarian.

But the utilitarian standard is only one aspect—and the least important aspect—of beauty. Plato emphasizes this point by suggesting that beauty might be the useful and then proceeding to demonstrate that power, ability and knowledge are beautiful only when they produce good instead of evil. Beauty, in other words, must be judged on the basis of a moral standard, which must underlie any utilitarian standard. Hence Socrates' suggestion that beauty is the beneficial or that which produces the good. Plato is giving his readers another clue to the essence of beauty. The clue is unfruitful in the dialogue because Hippias is unable to overthrow Socrates' "straw man." Socrates argues that if beauty is that which produces the good, beauty is the agent of the good and the good is the product of beauty. Since the agent and the product are never the same, however, beauty would not be good and the good would not be beautiful. Beauty, therefore, cannot be defined as the beneficial or that which produces the good.

Again we must analyze the argument and realize that the argument involves another verbal ambiguity—the two distinct meanings of the verb *to be*. The verb *to be* in Greek as in English may imply identity or an attribute. It implies identity in the statement: "That man is John Smith;" it implies an attribute in the sentence: "That man is good." One way of distinguishing between the two distinct meanings of the verb *to be* in Greek is the presence or absence of the article in the predicate. When the article is used with the predicate as well as with the subject of the sentence, the implication is one of identity. If the subject has the article but the predicate does not, the implication is one of attribute. *To kalon esti to agathon*, for example, means beauty is the good and the good is beauty—the two terms are interchangeable. *To kal-*

on *estin agathon*, however, merely states that beauty is a good thing, or that good is one of its attributes. It is true that beauty and the good are not interchangeable terms and that their essence is not the same. But there is no need to deduce, as Socrates does, that therefore each does not have the other as an attribute. Beauty may be a good thing and the good may be a beautiful thing without implying that each term is identical in essence. We must knock down the "straw man" which Plato sets up by noting the verbal ambiguity in the verb to *be*. We shall then have a clue to the essence of beauty on the moral standard.

Plato also gives the readers a hint on the essence of beauty conceived aesthetically. This hint is not developed to the fullest extent again because Hippias is not intellectually equal to the occasion. Socrates suggests that beauty might concern the pleasures which come through the ears and the eyes. He asks Hippias what characteristics the eyes and the ears have separately as well as in common. Hippias at first thinks that any two objects have the same characteristics in common which they possess individually. If two men are tall or stout or courageous individually, they must be tall or stout or courageous collectively; and vice versa, whatever characteristics they possess collectively they must also have individually. Hippias supposes that this law is universal and without exception. Socrates points out several exceptions: each of two men is singular and odd in number, but together they are plural and even in number. Restating the suggestion that beauty might concern the pleasures that come through the ears and eyes, they attempt to show what characteristics the pleasures of the eyes and the ears have separately as well as in common. It can not be the fact that they are pleasures, because also the other senses admit pleasures and frequently more intense pleasures. Nor can it be the fact that the pleasures come through the eyes and the ears,

for this characteristic is not true of each of the two senses separately. We see beautiful objects through our eyes alone, not through our eyes and ears. We hear a beautiful sound through our ears alone, not through our ears and eyes. Socrates' suggestion, therefore, is abandoned because Hippias is not intellectually equal to the occasion. The suggestion of Socrates need not fail if we note that by the phrase *ears and eyes* Plato means *ears or eyes*. A clue to the nature of beauty conceived aesthetically would then be that it concerns the pleasures which come through the ears or the eyes. The pleasures may come through one of these two senses separately and still have the same characteristics which are possessed by the pleasures coming through the other of these two senses.

Socrates' suggestion is not a final definition, but rather a hint to be developed by the reader. We may observe that the fine arts are based on the senses of hearing and sight. Music is perceived through the ears; sculpture, architecture and painting are perceived through the eyes. Literature for us is approached usually through the eyes; for the Greeks, however, who read orally, literature employed both the eyes and the ears. We might note also that only the highly developed organisms of the ears and the eyes are capable of perceiving and distinguishing sound and color, and that the pleasures involving sound and color are based on proportion and harmony. No doubt Plato, with his proclivity for mathematics and Pythagoreanism, saw aesthetic beauty in proportion and harmony as did the sculptors, architects, musicians, painters and literary men who produced works of true beauty in ancient Greece. Plato perhaps would delight in the theories of modern physics which explain sound and color on the basis of wave frequency and numerical ratio, for these theories would support the clue to aesthetics which he suggests in the *Hippias Major*.

It is not our purpose, however, to

read into Plato modern theories. Many of his theories have always been and always will be modern. Our aim is to illustrate that Plato's dialogues contain a wealth of thought ready to be assimilated by the intelligent reader, who is willing to make the effort of scrutinizing the argument and to accept the challenge of an exercise in mental gymnastic. Only then will the apparent failure of the dialogues to reach positive conclusions disappear, and only then will Plato's writings become beautiful functionally and morally as well as aesthetically.

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Foreign Language Group

The five-state Mountain Interstate Foreign Language Conference met at Union College, Barbourville, Ky., Oct. 8-9, for its fourth annual session. Dr. Gerald E. Wade (Span., U. of Tenn.) led a panel on "Certification of Teachers": Louise Combs (Ky. Dept. of Ed.), Earl Ramer (Ed., U. of Tenn.), H. C. Graybeal (High Counselor, Radford Coll., Va.), participating. A panel on "Need and Means of Promoting the Study of Foreign Languages in the High Schools" was led by Supt. Joe Aslip of London, Ky.: Prin. C. T. Lassiter of Middlesboro (Ky.) H.S., Mrs. Mildred Rowland, Hall H.S., Gray's Knob, Ky., Supt. Edward E. Brunk of Barbourville, Ann Dodd, Morton Jr. High, Lexington, Ky., Margaret Browning, Carter H.S., Knox Co., Tenn., Mrs. Mary Rowan Johnson, Dobyns-Bennett H.S., Kingsport, Tenn., participating. Dr. Jonah W. D. Skiles (Anc. Lang., U. of Ky.) led a panel on "The Teaching of Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools": Dean Lyman Ginger (Coll. of Ed. and Extension, U. of Ky.), Nannie Kelly, Morton Jr. H.S., Lexington, Ky., Mrs. Dorothy Dye, Bobyns-Bennett H.S., Kingsport, Tenn., participating. Dr. Armand E. Singer (U. of W. Va.) spoke on "The Values of Foreign Language Study," Prof. Edward A. Lodter (Rom. Lang., Eastern State Coll., Johnson City, Tenn.) on "The Contribution of Foreign Language Study in the Elementary Schools to the Total Program." Dr. Lodter invited the conference to Eastern State College for 1955.

J. C. L. — SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Iowa Federation of the Junior Classical League will be host to the second annual national convention June 26-28, 1955, at the State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa. The state chairman, Edna Miller, member of the faculty there, will be general chairman. She will assist Dick Page, senior, Webster Groves High School, Missouri, who was elected national president in June. Plans were made for the meeting when several members of the executive board met in June at San Antonio, July in St. Louis, and August in Cedar Falls.

The JCL is one of few national organizations electing student officers and using student leadership entirely at the sessions.

The Texas Federation was host to the first national convention at Incarnate Word High School, San Antonio, Texas, June 13-15, with Mildred Sterling, Waco High School, general chairman. Seventy-seven of the 690 chapters sent delegates. A special issue of the TORCH: U.S., bulletin of the national JCL, reporting the convention was released September 15. A few copies are still available for ten cents from Martha Matthews, senior, High School, Henderson, Texas, who is the editor. Indications from the fall enrollment are that membership for 1954-55 will exceed the 22,000 of the past year.

Iowa will be a mecca for classicists in 1955 when the American Classical League holds the eighth annual Latin Institute at the State University in Iowa City, June 23-26, and the Latin Workshop will be held at the university following the meeting of the national convention of the JCL.

ESTELLA KYNE

Wenatchee, Washington

SENECA (from page 189)

Polyb. 9.7-8: [frater tuus] tandem liber, tandem tutus, tandem aeternus est . . . Fruitur nunc aperto et libero caelo . . . et nunc libere illic vagatur omniaque rerum naturae bona cum summa voluptate perspicit. (E.3.a.32c.)

³⁰ *Ep.* 63.16. (E.3.a.36a.)

³¹ (E.3.a.29.)

³² *Ad Polyb.* 9.3: Quid itaque eius desiderio maceror, qui aut beatus aut nullus est. (E.3.a.31.)

³³ *Ad Marc.* 19.5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.5.

³⁵ *Ep.* 36.10. This and a reference in *Ep.* 88.34 are the only allusions that one finds in Seneca to the doctrine of metempsychosis.

³⁶ See note 24.

³⁷ (E.3.a.32d and 33.)

³⁸ Note 25.

³⁹ *Ad Marc.* 26.6.

⁴⁰ *Ep.* 102.26. Cf. *ibid.*, 57.9: [animus] si superstes est corpori, nullo genere [perire potest] quoniam nulla immortalitas cum exceptione est: *Ad Help.* 11.7: Animus quidem ipse sacer et aeternus est et cui non possit iniici manus. (E.3.a.32e.)

Seneca on Death and Immortality

IN ALMOST ALL of the philosophical works of Seneca death is one of the dominant topics. The thought of death is always present in his mind. "Hoc animo tibi hanc epistulam scribo, tamquam me cum maxime scribentem mors evocatura sit."¹ He frequently urges us to meditate on death.² He insists upon this subject as the one theme on which we could never meditate in vain.³ Again and again he reminds us that the law of mortality admits of no exceptions,⁴ that man should be prepared to meet death at any time—death which recognizes no such distinctions as *younger* and *older*, which is guided only by its own law.⁵

To Seneca death is a haven of refuge which all must enter at the close of life's journey. He compares life to a voyage, saying that the one who dies in youth, should not be mourned, because the journey then has been short and the soul has early reached its safe harbor.⁶

The mind of Seneca may so often have dwelt upon the thought of death because he was always of weak health and almost every variety of ailment had left its mark upon him.⁷ His bodily infirmities often led him to entertain the idea of ending his own life, but he was kept back by the thought of his kind old father.⁸

Suicide is an essential ethical factor in the moral doctrines of Seneca because it assures that complete freedom of the human soul on which his philosophy laid so much stress. "He who denies the right of committing suicide," says Seneca, "is shutting off the path to liberty." "Nil melius aeterna lex fecit, quam quod unum introitum nobis ad vitam dedit, exitus multos."⁹ Excluding suicide, the human soul remains subject to necessity and restriction. The wise man's independence of externals depends, among other things, on his being able to leave life at pleasure.¹⁰

To Seneca, the deed of the younger Cato appears not only laudable, but the crowning act of success over destiny, the highest triumph of the human will.¹¹ Not only, as he thinks, have the heroes of humanity, like Cato, asserted this right of theirs to die when and how they pleased; but men of low degree, the poor gladiators of the stage, the barbarians or criminals condemned to be thrown to the wild beasts, have flung defiance in the face of death and left examples which the subjects of tyranny may take to heart.¹²

Seneca therefore with inexorable logic offers men that mournful invitation to freedom and with implacable insistence points out to the oppressed a means of escape. Suicide appears absolutely as the highest expression of moral freedom. The wise man will go forward to meet death of his own free will, if only he is assured that reasonable choice points that way. When circumstances over which he has no control make continuance in life no longer desirable, then he has the right to receive death at his own hand. The infirmity of age, a weakening of the mental powers, incurable disease, a great degree of want, the tyranny of a despot from which there is no escape justify him in having recourse to this remedy.¹³

So Seneca looks on suicide as man's right when he seems to risk his dignity by staying longer on the scene.¹⁴ It might be cowardice indeed or lack of patience to hurry from the common ills of life, but man should trust his own judgment to tell him when he might withdraw in honor from the stage.¹⁵

Seneca has no doubt that man may choose his own form of an inevitable death, as we may select a ship in which to make a voyage, or a house in which to dwell. A longer life is not always the better but a lingering death is always the worse.¹⁶ The wise man will always be mindful of the fact that life is not

the more desirable for its length.¹⁷ As to the shortness of our days, no life is short if it has been full.¹⁸ It is not a question of dying earlier or later but of dying well or ill.¹⁹

Seneca often hails death as welcome at any age, as the deliverer who opens the prison door, the one harbor on a stormy and tempestuous sea. He is grateful for having always open this escape from life's long torture.²⁰

He seeks to prove that death is not to be looked upon by the living as an evil but that it is in reality a blessing. The old mythical hell, Cerberus and the ghostly ferryman, the stone of Sisyphus, the wheel of Ixion are mere poetic fictions.²¹ For the philosopher death is really the one compensation for the calamity of birth,²² either as a happy return to prenatal tranquillity or as the entrance to a blissful vision of the Divine.²³

ON THE QUESTION of the existence of the soul after death Seneca is neither in harmony with the Stoic masters nor consistent with himself. The Stoics believed that the individual soul cannot survive the general conflagration. They were undecided, however, whether all souls would last until that time as separate souls, which was the view of Cleanthes, or only the souls of the wise, as Chrysippus held.²⁴ Thus while the Stoics admitted a future existence of limited, but yet indefinite, length they did not believe in immortality.²⁵

In the matter of the future destiny of the soul Seneca speaks with uncertainty. Sometimes he asserts that beautiful and mystic hope of a spiritual survival. He speaks with joy of that day on which the soul, by the refinement of the elements of which it is built,²⁶ when freed from the prison of the body,²⁷ can, after tarrying a while above us in order to be purified in substance and morals, rise to the ether whence it came and join the souls of the blessed.²⁸

He imagines for these souls who have risen on high to the clear bright ether a sort of paradise where the secrets of

nature will be revealed to them and all their darkness will be dispelled, where they will enjoy the peace, freedom, and happiness of the heavenly life.²⁹

Although Seneca speaks in such a convincing and persuasive manner on the beautiful meditation of another life after death, yet concerning that doctrine he seems to have had a doubt in his mind, as is shown by some expressions in his *Epistles* and *Dialogues*. In *Epistle* 63 he asks whether the words of the wise men are true who claim that there is a bourne to welcome us once we have departed from earthly existence.³⁰ Sometimes he firmly states that death is non-existence—a state of great and never-ending repose similar to that in which we were before birth.³¹ At other times in the very same epistle or dialogue we find him balancing the two alternatives of regarding death either as a leap into utter nothingness or as the gateway to a glorious freedom of the divine.³² In the *Dialogus Ad Marciam*, in which he tries to console a grieved mother for the loss of her son, he states at first that death destroys and annihilates our existence.³³ But doubtful whether that perspective would console the bereaved mother, in a later passage of that same dialogue, he represents her son to her as mounting on high and taking his place by the side of such great men as the Scipios and Catos.³⁴

In *Epistle* 36 he refers to death as non-existence. Doubtful, however, whether that doctrine would console men who crave for a longer life, he states that death merely interrupts life but does not snatch it away, that the time will come which will restore us in forgetfulness of the past to the light of day.³⁵

Seneca is often criticized for these opposing ideas on the destiny of the soul. It is, however, sometimes possible to explain them and to maintain that on this subject he is more faithful than one supposes to the beliefs of the Stoic masters. Let us think of the distinction that Chrysippus made between the fu-

ture destiny of the souls of the foolish and bad men and that of the wise and good men.³⁶ It does indeed seem possible that Seneca is speaking of the mass of men when he says that the soul perishes together with the body and that he is thinking of the sage when he maintains that it mounts to heaven and is admitted to the ranks of the blessed.³⁷

He is in harmony with the Stoics³⁸ when he states that the soul enjoys immortality only up to the time of the general conflagration.³⁹

Where Seneca does deviate from the doctrine of the Porch is when he precisely states that the soul is everlasting and immortal: "Dies iste, quem tamquam extremum reformidas, aeterni natalis est."⁴⁰

Whichever one of the theories presented by Seneca concerning the nature of the soul and the character of the change that takes place at death may be true, he shows us that death itself is either not an evil or that it is a positive good. If the soul is mortal, there can be no pain and suffering after death; if immortal, it lives and returns to its original home where it enjoys everlasting peace and happiness. Thus Seneca succeeds in stripping death of its fearful mask whatever may be its true aspect.

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NOTES

¹ Ep. 61.2. See also my "The Extent and Range of the Ideas in Seneca's Philosophy," (Doctor's dissertation, U. of N. Car., to be published), Chapter II. E.3.a.15. Later references in parentheses are to this chapter.

² E.3.a.16.)

³ Ep. 70.18: Alia enim fortasse exerceant in supervacuum. Adversus pauperatē praeparatus est animus, permanere divitiarum. Ad contemptum nos doloris armavimus; numquam a nobis exegit huius virtutis experimentum integri ac sani felicitatis corporis. Ut fortiter amissionem desideria pateremur praecipimus nobis; omnes, quos amabamus, superstitēs fortuna servavit. Huius unius rei usum qui exigit dies venit.

⁴ Ibid., 77.12: Eo ipsis quo omnia eunt. Quid tibi novi est? Ad hanc legem natus es; ibid., 30.11: Mors necessitatem habet aequam et invictam. Quis queri potest in ea condicione se esse, in qua nemo non est? Prima autem pars est aequitatis aequalitas; Ad Polyb. 11.3: Alium alio tempore fata comprehendunt, neminem praeteribunt. (E.1.a.18.)

⁵ Ep. 12.6: Primum ista [mors] tam seni ante oculos debet esse quam iuveni. Non enim citamur

ex censu; ibid., 26.7: Iuvenior es; quid refert? Non dinumerantur anni. Incertum est, quo loco te mors expectat; itaque tu illam omni loco expecta. (E.1.a.19.)

⁶ (E.1.a.5.)

⁷ (Appendix I.e.)

⁸ Ep. 78.2: Saepe impetum cepi abrumpendae vitae; patris me indulgentissimi senectus retinuit. Cogitavi enim non quam fortiter ego mori possem, sed quam ille fortiter desiderare non potest. Itaque imperavi mihi, ut viverem.

⁹ Ibid., 70.14. Cf. De Prov. 6.6: Contemnite mortem; quae vos aut finit aut transfert . . . Ante omnia cavi, ne quid vos teneret invitos; patet exitus . . . Prono animam loco posui; trahitur, adtendite modo et videbitis quam brevis ad libertatem et quam expedita ducat via. Non tam longas in exitu vobis quam intrantibus moras posui. (E.3.b.2.)

¹⁰ Ep. 65.22: cum visum erit, distraham cum illo [corpore] societatem. Ibid., 70.4: Sapiens vivit, quantum debet, non quantum potest.

¹¹ (A.3.b.25.e.)

¹² (E.3.b.6.)

¹³ (E.3.b.7.)

¹⁴ (E.3.b.3.)

¹⁵ (E.3.b.8.)

¹⁶ Ep. 70.11-12.

¹⁷ De Benef. 5.17.6: Semper pauci dies erunt, si illos numeraveris. Cogita non esse summum bonum in tempore; quantumcumque est, boni consules. Ut prorogetur tibi dies mortis, nihil proficitur ad felicitatem, quoniam mora non fit beatorum vita sed longior.

¹⁸ Ep. 93.2: longa est vita, si plena est.

¹⁹ Ibid., 70.5: Citius mori aut tardius ad rem non pertinet, bene mori aut male ad rem pertinet. (E.1.a.10.)

²⁰ Ad Polyb. 9.7: in hoc tam procelloso et ad omnes tempestates exposito mari navigantibus nullus portus nisi mortis est; Ad Marc. 20.3: Caram te, vita, beneficio mortis habeo! Ibid., 1: O ignaros malorum suorum, quibus non mors ut optimum inventum naturae laudatur expectaturque. (E.3.a.22 and 23.)

²¹ Ep. 24.18. Cf. Ad Marc. 19.4: Cogita nullis defunctum malis affici, illa, quae nobis inferos faciunt terribiles, fabulas esse, nullas imminere mortuus tenebras nec carcerem nec flumina igne flagrantia nec Oblivionem amnem nec tribunalia et reos et in illa libertate tam laxa ullos iterum tyrannos: luserunt ista poetae et vanis nos agitare terroribus. (E.3.a.28.)

²² Ad Marc. 20.2: mors quae efficit ut nasci non sit supplicium. Cf. ibid., 22.3.

²³ (E.3.a.31.)

²⁴ E. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, translated from the German by O. T. Reichel, new ed. (London, 1892), 217-8.

²⁵ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1.31: [Stoici] diu manuros aiunt animos, semper negant.

²⁶ Ep. 57.8: animus beneficio subtilitatis suae erumpit. (F.1.c.16.)

²⁷ In Ep. 120.14f he refers to the body as a *breve hospitium* which a great soul does not fear to lose. Scit enim, quo exiturus sit, qui unde venerit, meminit. For complete references to the body as the prison of the soul see F.1.b.2.

²⁸ Ad Marc. 25.1: Paulumque supra nos commoratus, dum expurgat et inhaerentia vita situmque omnem mortalis aevi excutit, deinde ad excelsa sublatus inter felices currit animas; ibid., 24.5: [animus] nititur illo, unde demissus est. (E.3.a.32a.)

²⁹ Ep. 102.23: Per has mortales aevi moras illi meliori vita longiorque proluditur; ibid., 28: Aliquando naturae tibi arcana reteguntur, discutitur ista caligo et lux undique clara percipitur . . . Tunc in tenebris vixisse te dices, cum totam lucem et totus aspexeris, quam nunc per angustissimas oculorum vias obscure intueris; Ad Marc. 24.5: Ibi illum aeterna requies manet ex confusis crassissimae pura et liquida visentem. Ad

(See page 186)

BOOK REVIEWS

Readings in the History of the Ancient World. By WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT and WALLACE E. CALDWELL. New York: Rinehart and Co., 1951. Pp. xxii, 489. \$4.00.

Roman Civilization: Selected Readings. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by NAPHTALI LEWIS and MEYER REINHOLD. Vol. I: The Republic. (*Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies*, No. 45.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. ix, 544. \$5.00.

THE TWO BOOKS under consideration are sourcebooks compiled to supplement the reading of standard ancient history textbooks by Latinless and Greekless students. Their scope and scale are very different: the smaller covers the ancient history of the Middle East, Greece and Rome; the larger is restricted to Rome before 27 B.C. Both are, however, organized on rather similar plans. Neither attempts to present a continuous historical account, but rather, while retaining a chronological framework, to illustrate selected subjects by excerpts from the written remains of antiquity. Both avoid either very short or very long quotations. As the titles suggest McDermott and Caldwell's selection has more on the events and personalities of history, while Lewis and Reinhold have included a larger proportion of information on institutions and more texts of documents. Each book has a general introduction discussing ancient sources and brief introductions to the individual sections. In both books the tasks of selecting and editing have in general been well done.

McDermott and Caldwell's *Readings* devotes one chapter to Greco-Roman views of history, two to the ancient Middle East, three to Greece, and four to Rome. Emphasis is placed on noteworthy events and personalities, on social institutions, and on religious and philosophical thought. The selections are for the most part both well-known and well-chosen, and from standard translations. McDermott offers us his own version of fifteen Latin passages. Several Oriental and Latin inscriptions have been included. This anthology should be useful to teachers of ancient history surveys. It

does not seem to have been keyed to any particular text.

Lewis and Reinhold's *Roman Civilization* is a companion to Botsford and Sihler's *Hellenic Civilization*. The authors describe their principles of selection as being:

to exclude snippets, however classic, to avoid duplication of materials from different periods and to limit markedly technical or rhetorical pieces and purely narrative passages — such as descriptions of the endless wars and battles of Roman history — to a very few examples, in order to give more space and greater emphasis to texts illustrating the political, administrative, religious, economic, social and cultural aspects of Roman civilization (p. vii).

Their book contains a wealth of material, some of it, particularly inscriptions, previously unavailable in any form in most libraries. It thus becomes a valuable reference book, despite the fact that its indices, though an improvement on its Greek counterpart, are less than adequate. Two topics have been slighted to an extent deserving comment: the art of war and philosophy. The editors' policy with regard to the former is revealed in the quotation above, the latter is strange in view of the presence in the bibliography of ten titles concerned with philosophy.

The hand of the editor is more clearly seen in *Roman Civilization* than in most anthologies. Of necessity and also from choice, the editors have contributed a number of translations, but even where they have used another's version they have made changes, sometimes minor, sometimes considerable. These have been in the direction of clarity or accuracy and of current usage. The result is an evenness seldom found in an anthology. The introduction is to the whole two volume work. The bibliography is excellent, but both more general and more advanced than the main body of the book. In one area the editors have shown less than their usual care, in indicating what Latin or Greek is reflected in their text: thus three different systems are used in referring to Pliny's *Natural History*; section 8 is ostensibly a translation of material collected in the anthology, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, but actually

contains fuller quotations than those found there; only occasionally do the editors suggest the extent to which inscriptions have been restored. Few, if any users of *Roman Civilization* will, however, be troubled by this.

Both books are anthologies whose primary function is to illustrate ancient history by means of readings from ancient sources and as such deserve the serious consideration of those who wish their students to become acquainted with a variety of illustrative source material. Neither provides within itself much material for critical study of sources. What opportunity there is for comparison is chiefly between contrasting points of view, e.g., Pericles and "The Old Oligarch" on Athens; Cicero and his correspondent Matus on Caesar, and only incidentally between conflicting authorities. Like other similar compilations of readings both mix primary and secondary sources. This presents a danger in ancient history since most students, even in the face of warning, regard anything written in an ancient language as primary source material and thus as more trustworthy than twentieth century accounts of the same subjects

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Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by G. S. KIRK. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Pp. xvi, 424. \$9.50.

DIVIDING the fragments (i.e., authentic quotations of Heraclitus' own words) into groups according to subject and retaining Diels' numbers, the author considers in detail (with context, brief apparatus, translation and extensive commentary) only about half of the extant fragments — namely, those which concern the Logos and the opposites, and the large-scale physical changes in which fire plays a part; omitting detailed discussion of the anthropocentric fragments (e.g., on religion, god in relation to men, nature of the soul, epistemology, ethics, politics and attacks upon individuals or men in general), although he refers to the latter in considering the former. Fifteen fragments, accepted by Diels, are considered paraphrases or unreliable quotations: 4, 8, 37, 49a, 66, 71, 73, 76, 77, 89, 106, 112, 113, 116, 125a. All fifteen, however, are among the anthropocentric fragments.

Kirk's reliance on the actual surviving fragments in preference to other ancient evidence is no doubt sound. His distrust of Aristotle, Theophrastus and the doxographi-

cal tradition is in line with the current trend, set by H. F. Cherniss (*Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*) and recently applied to Theophrastus (on whom the later doxographical tradition is based) by J. B. McDiarmid in "Theophrastus on the Presocratic Causes," *HSCP* 61 (1953) 85-156. (A review of the latter volume by the undersigned will appear in an early issue of *AJP*.)

The work is thorough, subjecting the fragments to a careful examination of authenticity and content, and insisting that hypothetical interpretations be substantiated by other fragments. The reader, however, will look in vain for a summary of general conclusions. An Epilogue of approximately three pages gives merely a few synthetic impressions and the relation of Heraclitus to his philosophical environment. An inclusive appraisal of Heraclitus must wait for a similarly detailed consideration of the anthropocentric fragments.

Kirk's disparagement of Plato is perhaps exaggerated: "Plato's knowledge of Heraclitus was evidently limited" (15). "Aristotle perhaps originated less misconception about Heraclitus than Plato did" (19). "Plato . . . has done irreparable damage to the whole ancient tradition" (30). When he discusses the evidence, however, for these remarks — Plato's references in the *Theaetetus* and *Cratylus* to the theory of Flux — he tempers his criticism: "Now it is on the whole unlikely that Plato entirely misinterpreted the application of the river-statements" (370). Plato's "apprehension of the underlying idea is unlikely to have been completely at fault. The mistake he made was one of emphasis; what Heraclitus meant to illustrate in the river-statement was the coincidence between stability (of the whole river) and change (of the waters flowing past a fixed point), rather than continuity of change" (377).

It will be interesting to see whether other scholars will follow the interpretation of Kirk or of Plato. The following evidence must be taken into consideration: Plato in early life became familiar with Heraclitus' tenets according to Aristotle (*Metaphysics* 987a32-b8) and was deeply read in Heraclitus, "the kind of thinker who could be understood better by a Plato than by an Aristotle" (K. Freeman, *Companion to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 108). Plato did demonstrate a correct understanding of Heraclitus, as Kirk admits (14, 25, 378), when he distinguishes between Heraclitus, who held that reality is both one and many simultaneously, and Empedocles, who con-

sidered reality both one and many in turn (*Sophist* 242d-e); Aristotle, on the other hand, failed to note the difference between Heraclitus and Empedocles (*de Caelo* 279b14) and many later writers apparently followed Aristotle (17-18, 25).¹ It must also be remembered that Plato's references to the river-statement come in epistemological context (*Theaetetus* and *Cratylus*); for the possibility of knowledge the existence of change is more pertinent than any determinability of change. Other authors, furthermore, refer to Heraclitus' river-statement with the same emphasis as Plato gives to it; e.g., Aristotle, Plutarch, Simplicius, Seneca and Heraclitus Homericus (375). Are we to believe that all of them followed Plato's emphasis without consulting more primary evidence? Aristotle, in particular, does refer to a river as an example of "form" with regulated flux (*Meteor.* 357b27); but he does not connect the statement with Heraclitus.

The two preceding paragraphs should not detract from the high appraisal of Kirk's volume, which is fully documented, critical and objective in method, and which should demand the careful study of the specialist. We sincerely hope the author is inclined to follow with a similar treatment of the anthropocentric fragments.

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NOTE

¹ Plato's reference to Heraclitus in the *Symposium* (187a), as Kirk agrees, is "in a fantastic speech by Eryximachus, and perhaps should not be taken too seriously" (15). We see no reason for supposing an improvement in Plato's understanding of Heraclitus between the composing of the *Symposium* and the *Sophist*, as Kirk suggests.

Saint Anthony of the Desert. By HENRI QUEFFÉLEC. Translated from the French by JAMES WHITALL. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1954. Pp. 251. \$3.75.

IN THE PAST forty years these important studies have appeared: R. Reitzenstein, "Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des Antonius," *Sitz. Heidelb.* 5 (1914) no. 8; A. Priessnig, *Die biogr. Form. d. gr. Heiligenleg.* (diss.), München 1924; L. von Hertling, S.J., *Antonius der Einsiedler*, Innsbruck 1929; J. List, "Das Antoniusleben des hl. Athanasius," *Text. u. Forsch. zur Byz.-Neugr. Phil.* 11 (1930) 1-61; P. Resch, *La doctrine ascétique des premiers maîtres Egyptiens*, Paris 1931; J. Morawski, *La*

legend de saint Antoine (Pozn. Tow. Przyjac.), Poznań 1939. Add the translations of the *Vita S. Antoni* by P. Benoit Lavaud, O.P. (Fribourg 1943) and Robert T. Meyer (Washington 1950). All these works base themselves wholly or in considerable part upon a *vita* by Athanasius last critically edited in 1698!

It is with mingled regret and pleasure then that the reviewer contemplates another book "about" Anthony — regret that the book is not instead a critical edition of a work, of which Professor Seston wrote: "On sait qu'il n'est pas d'œuvre de l'Antiquité chrétienne qui ait trouvé plus de lecteurs que la *Vita Antonii*" (*REA* 43 [1941] 306); pleasure, in that a writer with fine instinct has made Anthony, Father of Christian Monachism, come alive in the colorful (Egyptian) world he would reject.

M. Queffélec is a distinguished novelist. He fills out the bald Athanasian outline of Anthony's life with material from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Coptic *synaxaria*, Socrates, Sozomen, the *Lausiac History*, and so on. He does something more. He creates — most of the time quite validly. His stuff is third-century Egyptian history and the history of early Egyptian asceticism. The excellence of his achievement will be grasped even more keenly by those who are familiar with the Athanasian account.

M. Queffélec is quite credulous, but he is aware of the fact. Still, he touches only very lightly on Anthony's miracles and his long addresses to the monks. Though I would be the last to disagree with him about the existence of Paul of Thebes and his meeting with Anthony, I fear critics will want more than the assertion, "The two men really met. . . ."

We are told by M. Queffélec that he consulted the (unpublished?) thesis of Father Louis Bouyer: *Vita Antonii et la Spiritualité du Monachisme Primitif*. This I have not seen. It may be the basis for the recurring claim — which puzzled me — that a purpose of Anthony was to reconcile the physical world, mainly the desert, to Christ.

Describing that physical world of Egypt, lush Nile Valley and blazing desert of stone, gaudy Alexandria and stark Mt. Qolzum, M. Queffélec appears at his most effective. Yet no reader will forget his tall, broad-shouldered Anthony, "outpost of human thinking for his time and for all time."

LEO M. KAISER

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